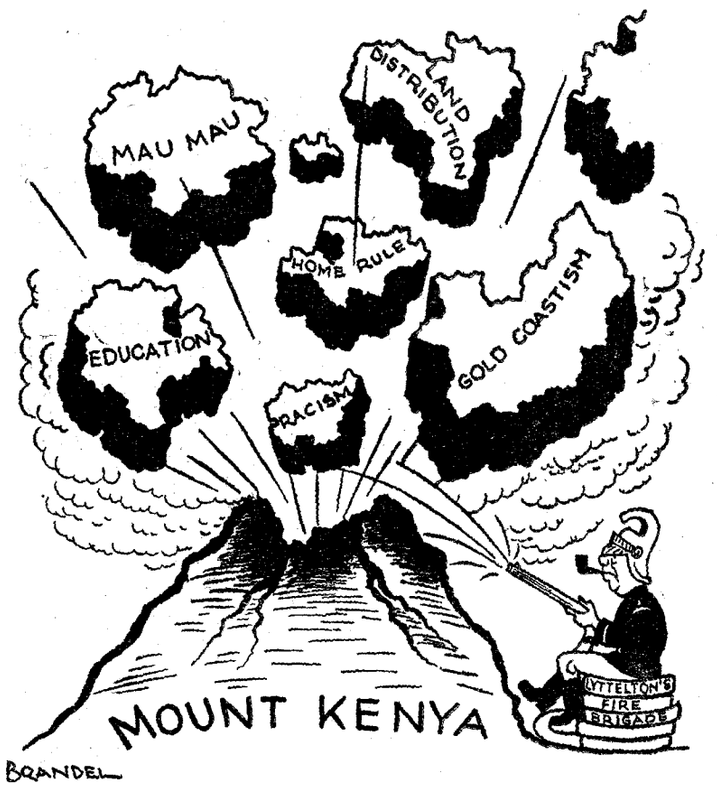
The U. N. Under Siege—*an Editorial*

THE Nation

December 13, 1952



KENYA
Dark Road Ahead

BY

ELIZABETH E. HOYT

The C. I. O. Picks Reuther

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*

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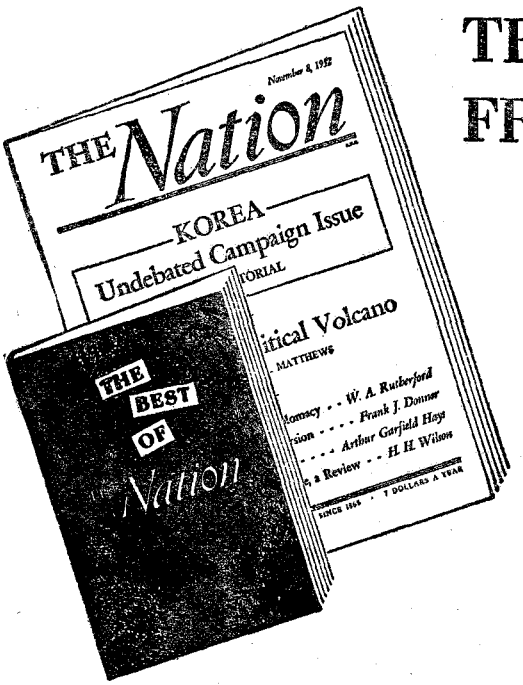

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AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

Bob vs. Ike

Senator Taft's denunciation of the Secretary of Labor selected by General Eisenhower gave the President-elect fair warning that he must either impose his leadership on the Old Guard Republican leaders in Congress or submit to their control. Taft's language was so extreme that a few years ago it would have seemed out of character. To call Durkin's appointment "incredible" and an "affront" even to union members was absurd. The statement must be understood, therefore, as an expression of his anger at seeing so many of Eisenhower's appointments go to his enemies and the enemies of his policies.

Taft came away from the "surrender" of Morningside Heights, during the campaign, with what he thought were assurances that his friends would not be "discriminated against" in patronage and recognition. But the key policy-making jobs have gone to Dewey men —John Foster Dulles and Herbert Brownell, Jr. Taft was not even consulted about the choice of George Humphrey, an Ohio industrialist, for Secretary of the Treasury. His hated opponent, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., will head the American delegation at the U. N. Harold Stassen, who plotted against him before the Republican convention, gets the Mutual Security Administration plum. There have been no plums for Taftites.

The Ohio Senator is opposed to anyone who has the effrontery to dislike the Taft-Hartley law. Durkin dislikes the law. He worked for Governor Stevenson during the recent campaign. But Taft himself bears principal responsibility for the alignment of nearly all union leaders with the Democrats; it was his leadership that branded the Republican Party as hostile to labor. Whether Taft will go so far as actually to oppose Durkin's confirmation by the Senate and whether he can successfully claim the Republican floor leadership remains to be seen. But the most important question is whether Eisenhower will steadfastly challenge the Old Guard and assert the force needed to override their obstructionism.

The Durkin Appointment

Eisenhower could have done much worse than choose Martin P. Durkin as Secretary of Labor. It is true that the president of the A. F. of L. plumbers' union has never been known for a broad-gauge concept of the union movement. He comes from the Chicago building trades, and building-trades leaders are not in general "do-gooders." He has shown no sense of mission, no drive to make labor a living democratic force. Within these limits, however, he has had a good record. He was an able Commissioner of Labor in Illinois under the fine administrations of the late Governor Henry Horner. As a member of the War Labor Board during World War II he worked diligently and intelligently. The C. I. O.'s convention resolution congratulating him on his appointment and promising him cooperation was an honest expression of respect.

One of Durkin's major tasks will be to persuade the President that the Labor Department deserves restoration to a position of authority as the government protector of labor's interests. Taft and his friends have gutted the department over the past six years, robbing it of its mediation functions in disputes and of full responsibility in the field of employment. The labor "activities" of the federal government are split among nearly thirty agencies, and the department itself is starved for lack of funds.

New Violence in Tunisia

The position of France in the General Assembly was not helped by the assassination of Ferhat Hached, Tunisian labor leader and chief strategist of the nationalist movement, whose claim for home rule is now under discussion in the Political Committee. Although the murderers had not been identified as the week began, Hached's followers and a good many people in France suspect that he was shot to death by agents of the colonial regime. A secret organization called the "Red Hand," organized for the purpose of combating the nationalists, was among the chief suspects.

Mr. Hached was in New York only a few months ago, and he would be here now if the French government had not refused him permission to leave Tunisia to attend the current session of the Assembly. During his stay he impressed everyone as a man deeply devoted to his country but not extreme or fanatical. As a leading member of the anti-Communist Federation of Free Trade Unions he had strong support in both the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L. These circumstances have made it all the more difficult for the French to divest the debate in the Political Committee of the emotion aroused by Hached's death. To complicate their situation, they have boycotted

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the discussions as an expression of the official French view that neither Tunisia nor Morocco comes within the competence of the United Nations. Thus they could not meet directly the suspicions arising out of Hached's assassination.

In spite of the unfavorable atmosphere, however, the French will probably be spared a diplomatic defeat. The Arab-Asian resolution calling upon France to "establish normal conditions" in Tunisia and urging the creation of a Commission of Good Offices to assist in the negotiations seems likely to fail when it comes to a vote. But a small victory in the U. N. will not provide any effective support to the French in Tunisia, where Hached's death has set off a series of open demonstrations and acts of repression.

Who Rules in Venezuela?

Venezuela's new dictator is the old one, Colonel Marcos Pérez Jiménez, who clamped a censorship on the news of his defeat in last Sunday's elections and, for the second time, resorted to force to keep himself in power. The only change is that one-man rule takes the place of a three-man junta. There is no more likelihood now than there was before the elections that the "will of the people" will prevail.

The victory of the Democratic Republican Union, led by Jovito Villalba, offered conclusive evidence that the Junta had no popular backing. It was opposed not only by the outlawed and persecuted parties, such as Acción Democrática and others, but by those that were permitted to participate in the elections. It is particularly significant that the unions, even those "loyal" labor organizations which have existed with the permission of the Junta, reacted to the new coup d'état by calling a general strike.

Apparently Pérez Jiménez has only the backing of his machine-guns. Or has he, perhaps, other kinds of support as well? In a statement issued in Mexico City, where he is a refugee, the former President of Venezuela, Rómulo Gallegos, said: "I ask myself whether we are not again in the presence of other complicities." It should be remembered that, immediately after he was ousted from the Presidency in 1948 by the Pérez Jiménez clique, Gallegos hinted very clearly that foreign oil interests had helped the military rebels. His statement last week suggests that he doubts whether the Venezuelan dictator would have dared defy the verdict of the electorate if he had not felt confident of Washington's acquiescence.

A Vote Against Colonialism

Kenya is not the only area in Africa where the British are using strong-arm tactics against the natives. A year ago, in neighboring Tanganyika, the British authorities forcibly evicted 3,000 members of the Wa-meru tribe from their land, killed most of their livestock, and

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burned their village to the ground. Last June the twelve-man Trusteeship Council, which supervises the U. N.'s non-self-governing territories, rejected the tribe's plea that its land be returned (see Colonialism at the U. N. in *The Nation* of October 18). Now, a year after the eviction, a spokesman for the Wa-meru has been permitted to take his case to the forty-eight-member Trusteeship Committee of the General Assembly. After a bitter debate a resolution "inviting" Great Britain to return the land to its rightful owners and condemning the manner in which the Trusteeship Council had handled the case was adopted over the vigorous protests and negative votes of thirteen colonial powers. This action was clearly a vote of no confidence in the Trusteeship Council and reflected the feeling which has grown up among the smaller nations that the trusteeship system is being administered to the advantage of the overseeing powers at the expense of the natives. By defending Britain's position the United States has lost much of the good-will it recently won among the Arab-Asian countries through its changed stand on the Tunisian question.

During the debate John J. Muccio, the American delegate, criticized the resolution censuring the Trusteeship Council on the ground that it would weaken faith in the U. N. Happily, quite the opposite may result; the overwhelming support the resolution received will be taken as a heartening sign by many who have been dismayed at the United Nations' apparent willingness to subordinate principle to the vested interests of the great powers.

The U.N. Under Siege

OF SEVERAL major issues implicit in the fifty-five-page report of the three jurists appointed by Secretary General Trygve Lie to advise him "On Questions Affecting Staff" and in the presentment of the federal grand jury for the Southern District of New York, which was released almost simultaneously—the first appeared on November 29, the other on December 3—one or two demand immediate attention. Full analysis of the recommendations of both reports, however, must be reserved for a later issue.

For some years now critics of the procedures of Congressional committees have been saying that inquiries like those conducted by the House Committee on Un-American Activities encroach upon the ancient functions of the grand jury. In this instance, however, the criticism might well be reversed: here a grand jury has behaved as if it were a Congressional committee of inquiry, with its lack of judicial restraint in dealing with witnesses and evidence. Grand juries and congressional committees both serve valuable purposes, but these purposes should not be confused.

For example, the rule of secrecy is a key to the basic functions of a grand jury. Grand juries must have freedom of action, but secrecy is the concomitant of this freedom. If in the course of an investigation of, say, malfeasance in office, a grand jury accidentally learns that the wife of the malfeasor has been guilty of adultery, it is the duty of the jurors not to disclose the juicy item to the Leonard Lyonses and Walter Winchells. Great harm and injury would necessarily result if grand juries were permitted to disregard the rule of secrecy. Yet anyone who has been following the story of "subversives at the U. N." in the press can readily identify most of the individuals referred to though not named in the grand jury's presentment.

The trouble in the present instance would seem to stem from the fact that this particular grand jury and the McCarran committee have been working in such close collaboration that their respective functions have been blurred if not exchanged. For example, the McCarran committee has in effect indicted and convicted individuals without regard to constitutionally sanctioned safeguards, while the grand jury has acted as if its function was to inform the public of everything that had been brought to its attention, however one-sided, unproved, or inaccurate this information might be. Grand juries do not conduct trials; they do not sift all the evidence. Grand juries are advised by a law-enforcement officer; they hear the case presented by the district attorney, not the case developed by defense counsel. The issue, in most grand-jury investigations, is simply whether the facts disclosed to it warrant indictment, not whether the person indicted is guilty or innocent. It is significant, moreover, that in the nine months that this grand jury has been in existence not a single U. N. employee has been indicted.

Without weighing the merits of the recommendations made in the report submitted by the three jurists to the Secretary General, one aspect of the circumstances surrounding their appointment should be noted. The panel has no standing under the Charter of the United Nations. Nothing in that document justifies the inference that key policy decisions should be based on the recommendations of advisers chosen by the Secretary General. Even assuming the propriety of seeking "outside" counsel, Mr. Lie should have regarded it as a private legal opinion, prepared at his request for his personal guidance, and not as a document to be used to influence the American public or to pressure the General Assembly or its various commissions and tribunals. It was not legal advice, in the narrow sense, that Mr. Lie sought; presumably he had access to expert counsel within the staff itself. What he obviously wanted was some "prestige" support for decisions which he had already made or was prepared to make.

Whether or not this was deliberate intent, the issuance of the report of the three jurists makes it virtually im-

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possible for the Administrative Tribunal impartially to examine the cases of discharged or suspended staff members. Mr. Lie has now accepted the recommendations of the jurists as a directive which the Administrative Tribunal could ignore only if it were prepared to challenge his authority. For the Secretary General has now finally tossed aside the decision of the Administrative Tribunal, which last year ruled that his powers were limited and that he could not dismiss staff members without showing cause.

However, we believe it is not too late to question the hasty application of these lawyers' recommendations as the administrative law of the United Nations. We see no reason why they should not be subjected to the scrutiny and decision of the appropriate committee of the U. N. dealing with staff problems after Mr. Lie has gone through the formality of submitting them as his own. And it is certainly in order for the Administrative Tribunal itself to ask the United Nations to pass on the validity of the panel's recommendations and their adoption by Mr. Lie.

Read in conjunction with the grand-jury presentment, the report will have a powerful effect on public opinion; this much is clear from the editorial expression which has greeted it. The Administrative Tribunal must now reckon not merely with Mr. Lie's pronouncements and decisions but with a grand-jury presentment, a report prepared by three jurists, and an aroused American public. The grand-jury statement indorses the recommendations of the three jurists. This fact, as well as the appearance of the two reports at almost the same time, warrants the inference that both were intended to prejudge the appeals of the staff members to the Administrative Tribunal.

OBVIOUSLY *The Nation* is opposed to the employment by the U. N. of spies against any country. But it also opposes insistence on conformity and the labeling of every non-conformist as "subversive" in advance of denial, proof, or defense. And we believe that this will logically follow if the jurists' report is accepted and applied without amendment.

Apart from the merits of the recommendations made by the jurists, Mr. Lie's handling of the staff problem has without question played into the hands of forces in this country that seek to jettison the United Nations or, failing in this endeavor, to make it a "captive" instrument of American foreign policy. We can well understand why the State Department, as the grand jury has charged, may have sought to induce the grand jury, through the Department of Justice, to shelve the presentment. American foreign policy should not be made by New York grand juries or by the McCarran committee. Yet both agencies are making policy in the sense that they have inflamed public thinking against the United Nations. What the public is reading in the press is the story of "subversives at the U. N." The public has not heard and may never hear the other side of the story: the attempt to subvert the U. N. by attacking its staff as subversive.

Both the grand jury's presentment and the report of the three jurists will have the unhappy effect of fortifying those elements in the country who feel, without regard to the character of the staff, that the United States should run the United Nations. Both reports refer to the obligations of the U. N. to the "host" nation; unfortunately neither spells out the obligations of the host nation to the U. N. What has happened, in effect, is that the loyalty program of the federal government has been foisted on the U. N. by public pressure harshly applied. Even the three jurists appear to have succumbed to the delusions of McCarthyism: witness their offhand reference to organizations that have been "declared" subversive without a word to indicate who made the declaration, by what standards, and under what procedures. Apparently the jurists are unaware that the United States Supreme Court itself has questioned the validity of certain *ex parte* "declarations" of this character.

A Step Toward Settlement

By FREDA KIRCHWEY

WHATEVER chance exists of breaking the four-year deadlock in the Arab-Israel dispute lies in the early substitution of direct negotiations for the endless, largely futile efforts of the United Nations Conciliation Commission to approach a settlement by dealing separately with the interested parties. A proposal to this end was incorporated in a resolution sponsored in the General Assembly by eight nations—Canada, Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands, Uruguay, Ecuador, Cuba, Panama—calling on Israel and the Arab states to "desist from any further acts of hostility" and to arrange for direct talks aimed at settling their outstanding differences. Although largely overshadowed by the momentous debate on Korea and by the threatening situation in North Africa, the decision on this issue may prove of genuine importance. For the first time since the armistice agreements were signed, it seems possible that majority backing will be found for negotiations keyed not to past grievances and obsolete resolutions, but to the legitimate claims of the nations directly concerned and of the whole Middle East. Both the form and fate of the eight-power resolution were in doubt as the week began, but the prospect was good that an amended draft retaining its essential substance would be adopted.

This said, it must be admitted that the debate produced a repetition of all the old, well-worn Arab charges and arguments, including those which challenge Israel's

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very right to exist. Some were amusing as well as irritating. Fouad Ammoun of Lebanon, for example, was heard complaining that Israel's refusal to agree to the repatriation of Arab refugees in Palestine revealed a purpose to set up a state on a "religious basis"—which would, he said, rule out any direct negotiations. Apparently he forgot, in the heat of argument, that Lebanon itself, officially and admittedly, functions on a "religious basis." Through an equally glaring slip of memory, he firmly asserted that the Arab states had "bowed" to the partition resolution of November 29, 1947, while Israel's attitude had been one of "quasi-total refusal." How he accounts for the Arabs' open defiance of that resolution, accompanied by their invasion of Palestine to prevent its being put into effect, he failed to explain. More important was the Arabs' insistence that any talks with Israel must be conducted "in conformity with" previously adopted resolutions—a condition that from the outset would doom them to sterility. But this unrealistic attitude, while typical, does not necessarily represent the permanent position of the Arabs. They can be led to compromise, in their own ultimate interest, if they discover that intransigence no longer works. For the fact remains that their legitimate claims stand a far better chance of being satisfied under conditions of peace than in the present state of suspended belligerency—a fact some of their Asian supporters apparently recognize.

BY FAR the most constructive approach to the problems involved in the search for an agreement was put forward by Ambassador Eban of Israel. He premised his proposals upon a strong plea for direct negotiations geared to present realities and genuine interests rather than on previous decisions that had proved unworkable. Dealing first with the primary issue of security, he urged that a peace settlement should include an explicit nonaggression clause; and once more he assured the Arabs that any fears of expansive ambitions on the part of Israel were "quite unfounded." Such a settlement would make possible a reasonable limitation of military budgets; the supply and distribution of arms could be related to the defense needs of the whole region. A settlement would also include practical measures to eliminate armed incursions and attacks along the frontiers. And finally it would enable Israel and its neighbors to consider means of regional cooperation to defend peace in the area as a whole.

But even more important and politically more appealing was Mr. Eban's security proposals was his description of the social and economic advantages that would follow a peace settlement. After citing some of the moves Israel had made, even under present circumstances, to ease the plight of the Arab refugees—its release, at the request of the Conciliation Commission, of blocked accounts of refugees; its acceptance of 19,000 refugees into Israel, "notwithstanding the continued existence of a condition far short of peace"; and its agreement to pay compensation for lost properties in spite of the difficulties created by Arab boycott and blockade—Mr. Eban pointed out that a real solution of the refugee problem could be found only through "cooperative regional effort." First, he said, it was essential to restore normal economic relationships and promote trade between Israel and the Arab states. The resumption and early expansion of means of communication, now completely severed, between Israel and the surrounding countries would, he pointed out, not only facilitate the growth of trade but "produce an atmosphere of integration and harmony, and eliminate what is both a cause and an acute symptom of the present regional conflict." He discussed the multiple benefits that would flow from joint efforts to control disease and check the narcotics traffic, to bring about agrarian reform, housing developments, and labor organization.

BUT above all he showed how hostile relations between Israel and its neighbors had hamstrung the plans of U. N. agencies to provide the Middle East with technical assistance on a regional scale. Power and water development, soil conservation, and economic aid of many other sorts had been "frustrated by the character of our political relations." He drew a striking picture of the benefits to the economic life of the whole area that would become possible once peace was established.

Obviously the attractive program outlined by Mr. Eban will not implement itself. It depends, first, upon the willingness of the Arab states to enter into "direct and free" negotiations on reasonable terms and, second, upon the willingness of the United States to get behind the Assembly decision, after the resolution has passed, and to promise assistance in resettling the Arab refugees —an essential part of any peace move—and in developing the economic potential of the area as a whole.

One of the largest question marks hanging over the Arab-Israel debate has been the attitude of the new Republican Administration. So far no one really knows what position Mr. Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles will take on the concrete problems at issue. Without doubt they recognize the importance of political stability in the Middle East. But do they recognize that stability will not be achieved unless peace is made between Israel and the Arab states, or that peace depends upon assurance of a serious, long-range effort, inevitably financed in large part by the United States, to improve the economic life of the area? The adoption of a valid resolution by the General Assembly is an essential first step, but it will amount to no more than that until the new Administration puts its authority and pledge of aid behind a creative program of reconstruction such as Mr. Eban outlined.

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Korea: No Way Out

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

United Nations

THE Indian resolution on Korea was adopted by a vote of forty-five to five. The West's "automatic majority," split at the beginning of this Assembly, was thus reestablished in the face of Soviet opposition. Neither the opportunity of dividing the United States from its Atlantic Pact allies on a major issue nor the telling argument that a different Soviet attitude would have given the coming Vienna Peace Congress a tremendous propaganda push influenced the Soviet decision. Even without indorsing the entire Indian plan, Russia could have voted against the sections of the resolution which qualified the Geneva Convention and abstained in the vote on the resolution as a whole. This would have left the way open for future attempts at settlement on the basis of the plan. But Vishinsky's "no" was uncompromising.

It would be infantile to explain Russia's attitude in terms of the "obstinacy"" of Mr. Vishinsky. Answering on November 27 several speakers who tried to hold him personally responsible for the rejection of the Indian plan, he made it clear that Soviet policy left no margin for improvisation or caprice. It is equally incorrect to suggest that Mr. Vishinsky played Russia's hand badly or that his tactics were poor. Vishinsky had his very effective moments—for instance, in his speech preceding the vote when he produced a report from a Canadian paper describing pressure tactics employed in the U. N. prisoner-of-war camps to influence the prisoners against repatriation.

Nor could Mr. Vishinsky imagine that his counter-proposal of an "immediate cease-fire," for all its popular appeal, could possibly offset the effect of Russia's rejection of the Indian plan. The conviction, widespread both inside and outside the United Nations, that the Indian resolution might have produced an armistice, relegates to a secondary role all other aspects of the historic debate. But the problem is not really taken care of by saying that there was a chance for a truce and that the Russians ruined it. It is necessary to search out the causes of the Soviet attitude.

It is also necessary to have the courage to face unpleasant realities. What has just occurred unfortunately substantiates my original view that it will be impossible to settle the Korean armistice issue in isolation from the other problems which divide East and West. If the armistice negotiations are ever to be successful they must be given additional content. (See War without End? November 8.) The conservative British *Sunday Dispatch* is now suggesting that Communist China be told directly that if it accepts the Indian plan it will be admitted to the United Nations. This might provide an opening wedge, but in the present circumstances it would probably not be sufficient. It is difficult to believe that Russia will give the West any facilities for getting out of the dilemma in which it is caught in Korea as long as Western policy fluctuates between "containment" and "roll-back" with no prospect of general negotiation.

What is the alternative? Another attempt at mediation? But is there any nation better qualified than India to make such an attempt? Or the "all-out offensive" demanded by Syngman Rhee and his henchmen? The enthusiasts go a little too far. One associate of General Li Mi, who is still fighting the Communists near the Chinese border, is quoted in the Paris *Monde* (November 27, 1952) as saying: "With the American elections and with Eisenhower as President the century of anti-Communist Asiatics attacking Communist Asiatics has begun." But in spite of this fervor, and apart from differences among the Western allies, there are military difficulties—which General Eisenhower has fully acknowledged since his departure from Korea.

A military showdown in Korea could be attempted only at the cost of the defense of Europe. No matter how many South Korean soldiers are offered by Syngman Rhee, the command will have to remain American and many American officers and troops would have to be brought to Korea. It is easy to imagine the effect such a withdrawal from Europe would have on the other already worried members of NATO. And not only troops but aviation would have to be shifted to Asia; this would disturb the Europeans more than anything else. Also, to attack China means to invite war with Russia. While in the sessions of the Assembly Mr. Vishinsky was emphasizing over and over his demand for a rigid observance of the Geneva Convention, I was thinking about another agreement that binds Russia much more directly—the Sino-Soviet treaty of 1950. According to this treaty Russia is obliged to come to China's aid if China is attacked.

I have consistently argued that the policy of containment could lead to a situation in which the West would find it equally difficult to wage war or to make peace. But this does not exclude the danger that, as a consequence of this very difficulty, we may one day find ourselves plunged into a war of exasperation—in Asia or somewhere else. An alternative can be found only in a Big Four conference, not a conference of deputies like the unhappy 1951 meeting at the Palais Rose in Paris, but a full conference of Foreign Ministers with power to discuss all major conflicts—and to act.

If there is one man among the Western leaders who can take the initiative for proposing such a meeting, it is President Auriol of France. The fact that he is practically sure to be reelected to another term gives him the necessary authority and assurance of continuity to take such a step.

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The C. I. O. Picks Reuther

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Atlantic City, New Jersey

THE Congress of Industrial Organizations turned to Walter P. Reuther, after what might have been a shattering struggle, because the majority of its leaders had a deep sense of responsibility to the best traditions of the organization and to their country. Behind the bitter fight for the presidency between Reuther and Allan S. Haywood was a clash of basic concepts about the function of the C. I. O. in our society. Reuther preeminently stood for the belief that it should be a powerful instrument of organized liberalism not only in American but in world affairs.

The struggle here on the Boardwalk, where seventeen years ago the foundations of the C. I. O. were laid, brought out some instances of egotism and meanness. The assembly was not a happy one. Old comrades of the late Philip Murray suffered from a sense of personal loss and were troubled by what seemed like signs of spiritual disintegration in the quarrel over the presidential succession. The decision of the Haywood adherents—that is, principally, the decision of David J. MacDonald, acting president of the United Steelworkers—to force a showdown roll call had only one purpose: it was a warning to Reuther to speak softly and move carefully and to remember that his election had been opposed by a very powerful minority. Reuther won in the roll call by less than a 10 per cent plurality.

It may be asked: What's wrong with a showdown vote in a democratic organization? And, indeed, a point in Reuther's favor in the convention maneuvering was his readiness to face the challenge of a vote; he told other leaders plainly that the actual strength of constituent unions must be counted rather than the inflated paper strength credited to various organizing committees and small unions. But the C. I. O. is a voluntary association of autonomous unions, not an organically united body. Its force and impact have depended on its ability to speak for its member unions with a single voice.

From the first night of the convention, when the rubber workers and oil workers announced they would support him, it was clear Reuther had the votes to win. To his credit, Allan Haywood recognized it and sensibly accepted an arrangement stabilizing his own position as executive vice-president, the post he had held under Murray.

One of the ablest C. I. O. officials said that the great question was whether the C. I. O. was to become just a loosely knit federation with fragmentary ideas or remain the united liberal force it had been in the past and develop a reinvigorated drive. Another, in a private conversation, put the question as follows: "Shall we turn inward, devoting ourselves to less and less important concepts of routine trade unionism; shall we caution Reuther against taking up with 'queer notions' about the C. I. O.'s responsibility for immigration laws, housing, civil rights, foreign policy, and other democratic causes? Or shall we accept his leadership with genuine enthusiasm for the ideals he represents?"

Haywood is greatly respected as a veteran of many union struggles. He had the support, naturally, of the very small unions, which felt indebted to him for the organizers he had assigned to help them. He had the support of most of the industrial union councils, of which he is national director. And he had the support of MacDonald, a man of real power, if the only one in his camp. Reuther, however, had the backing of the medium unions —the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Textile Workers, Electrical Workers, Oil Workers, and Rubber Workers—which are firmly established in their fields and very sure of what they want the C. I. O. to be. They were for Reuther not only because he is twenty years younger than Haywood and a power in his own right as head of the United Automobile Workers but also because they believed he would expand rather than contract the horizons of the C. I. O.

Haywood would not have reversed the C. I. O.'s wide-ranging social policies, but with his devotion to organization work, his idea that there is little use in preaching idealism unless you have the constituents to preach to, he might have permitted much of the C. I. O.'s liberalizing thrust to wither away.

After the election one of Reuther's close associates said that the C. I. O. could hardly be expected to feel toward its new leader as it had felt toward Murray, to be willing to follow him "right or wrong." Reuther, he thought, would have to be "right" to command loyalty and votes. Murray magnetically attracted support through his wisdom, patience, and ironic kindliness. Reuther is an idea man, an expert in trade unionism, a union leader who happens to be interested in human freedom rather than in bread alone.

Many felt that Reuther's keynote speech after the voting was too long, that he did not need to cover practically every aspect of the C. I. O.'s and the world's problems. But it is possible that he laid down his line in

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such detail with deliberate intent. He knew what the issue in the convention was, and so he talked extensively about foreign policy, emphasizing the difference between the C. I. O.'s objections to President Truman's foreign policy and the attacks of the reactionaries: "We criticize that policy for its deficiencies; they criticize it for its validities." He talked about the social revolution sweeping over the world: "The Communists did not create that revolution; they are merely riding on its back." In all countries, he said, not just in America, children have the right to grow up strong in body and mind, limited in their opportunities only by their own capacities.

NO BIG split in the C. I. O. need be feared. Neither MacDonald's Steelworkers nor the small unions will pull out. There may be some sniping from the beaten minority and perhaps a little foot-dragging on social issues. David L. Cole, director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, addressing the convention before the roll-call vote, said solemnly: "From the position I hold I can perhaps see more clearly than you the direction which the thinking in certain quarters is now taking. Let me warn you that there are people who are gloating over the possibility of disunity within the C. I. O. . . . I urge you . . . to join your forces quickly and solidly." Reassuring those who had supported Haywood to the bitter end, Reuther promised in his acceptance speech that there would be no quarrel between steel workers and automobile workers, between big unions and little unions. Haywood, for his part, announced graciously and sincerely: "'As far as Allan Haywood is concerned, I will be with this organization until time takes me out."

There is no immediate likelihood that the emergence of George Meany as head of the American Federation of Labor and of Walter Reuther as head of the C. I. O. will produce the unity of which both sides have talked. The difficulties are many and complex: how to settle jurisdictional problems and assure the industrial organization that its unions would not be fragmented into craft groups; how to develop an organic union by working together for common ends. In Meany, however, the A. F. of L. has a forward-looking leader, a man who, like Reuther, thinks of the welfare of the whole country. Reuther and Meany can talk to each other.

The basic significance of Reuther's election is that the C. I. O. reaffirmed its tradition of being an articulate and responsible spokesman for democracy. But it may also happen that new vigor will be poured into organizing campaigns as well as into social concepts. A long time has passed since the great C. I. O. unions were built. Some of the small local groups are weaker now than they were fifteen years ago; some of the internationals in basic industries have not organized even their own jurisdictions effectively. A renewal of the C. I. O.'s crusading spirit offers hope for the difficult times ahead.

Guilt by Dedication

BY EDWARD H. SHAFFER

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

DURING the week beginning November 23 scores of eminent music critics from several countries converged on Pittsburgh to listen to the discords of the city's first International Contemporary Music Festival. Contrary to their expectations, they discovered that the loudest inharmonious notes did not emanate from the Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra but from a new entry to their own ranks, Judge Michael A. Musmanno of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court.

Judge Musmanno, a self-styled crusader against communism, protested vigorously against the scheduled performance of Dr. Roy Harris's Fifth Symphony. This work, written in 1943, was dedicated to "the heroic and freedom-loving people of our great ally, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as a tribute to their staunch idealism for world peace, their ability to cope with stark materialistic problems of world order without losing a passionate belief in the fundamental importance of the arts." Apparently indignant because Dr. Harris refused his request to change this dedication, Judge Musmanno urged Pittsburgh's music-lovers to refrain from applauding. "Sit on your hands," he said.

Fearing trouble, Mayor David Lawrence made a hurried trip to Syria Mosque, where the concert was being held. Nervously he and the festival officials watched Conductor William Steinberg take the stand. The audience sat in hushed silence as Mr. Steinberg led the orchestra through the movements of Dr. Harris's Fifth Symphony. When the final note was sounded, a wave of applause engulfed the hall.

At this moment Dr. Harris, who is a resident composer at the Pennsylvania College for Women, appeared on the scene. After describing the "rousing ovation" which he received, the Pittsburgh *Press* commented that Judge Musmanno had been "overruled."

At the close of the festival a statement was issued by Dr. James Bovard, president of the Carnegie Institute of Technology, Dr. Paul Anderson, president of the Pennsylvania College for Women—co-chairmen of the festival—and Mayor Lawrence denouncing the attacks on Dr. Harris. "We have heard a lot about guilt by association," they said, but "this is the first time that we deal with the problem of alleged guilt by dedication."

Thus the ideological if not the musical discords of Pittsburgh's first International Contemporary Music Festival were resolved in a manner which in these days of fear seems to belong to a forgotten past.

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Western Reactions to Prague

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Paris

SINCE a number of budding little McCarrans and McCarthy's have been sniping at me for quite a time as a dangerous Red—a charge leveled at most left-wing writers who disregard the unwritten rules of the cold war—it was almost a pleasant surprise to be denounced, along with Mr. Zilliacus and a galaxy of ambassadors, as an "imperialist agent" and "notorious spy" in the indictment of the Prague "traitors." Actually, the story of my being a "notorious spy" is a very old one, and its revival throws a crude light on the crazy background of the trial and its handling of evidence.

In January, 1950, after my last visit to Czechoslovakia, I published a number of articles in this journal —as well as in the London *New Statesman and Nation* and the Manchester *Guardian*—which greatly displeased Rudolf Slansky, then Czechoslovakia's big party boss, and André Simone, alias Otto Katz, at that time foreign editor and the real power of *Rude Pravo,* official organ of the Czech Communist Party. Thereupon Simone himself "unmasked" me in his paper as a "notorious spy." I was not unduly surprised. By that time the refusal to distinguish between espionage and bona fide journalism had become an established custom.

The interesting thing is that the indictment used the same phrase about me, as if its truth were well established, when actually it had been coined by Simone, now a "traitor" and "agent of American imperialism." It shows that any "dirt" about Westerners will do, even that invented by people being tried for their abominable crimes against the Communist state. Or did the public prosecutor overlook this little detail? Or is he perhaps an accomplice, still "unmasked," of Slansky, Simone, and company?

Together with almost every other more or less well-known citizen of the West who has visited Prague in the last few years, I was of course also denounced as one of "Slansky's foreign agents." In reality I never met Slansky in my life. The only one of the fourteen accused men I know is André Simone, whom I saw when he was in Paris before the war and again in Prague in 1948 and 1949. He was very active in Paris, especially at the time of the Spanish civil war, and was generally thought to be "close to the Comintern." (It is, indeed, an odd fact that, presumably because of their "internationalist" outlook, a large number of persons who had some connection with the Spanish war have been purged in recent trials—or, like Marty, the French Communist leader, fallen into disgrace.)

In 1948 and 1949 Simone seemed quite different from in the Paris days. He was still shifty and a little mysterious, but he attempted to be cordial, and, speaking excellent English and French, he made a point of seeing a good deal of foreign correspondents in Prague and telling them what a good job the Communists were making of post-Benes Czechoslovakia. Those who, like myself, were not deeply impressed by his propaganda soon learned how he felt about them. However, since Simone has been hanged, one ought to be charitable. (After an incredible "confession" in court, he begged to be hanged "as an example to others"—it must have been a horrible scene.) Despite the bad turn he did me, which barred me, as a journalist, from ever returning to Czechoslovakia, I still think he was a sincere Communist, though almost pathologically obsessed with vanity and personal ambition. Perhaps his vanity, plus the fact that a different type of Communist is wanted by Moscow these days, led to his downfall.

THE trial was obviously the outcome of a conflict between the two rival factions in Czechoslovakia with the "Jewish" faction made the scapegoat for the country's lamentable economic condition. The anti-Semitic aspect of the trial had its parallel in the Soviet Union when the "Russians" crushed the "non-Russian" Trotskys, Zinovievs, Kamenevs, and Radeks. There may also be something in the theory that a display of anti-Semitism was calculated to please the Arab states.

Less even than in other purge trials was any concern shown for verisimilitude. The improbabilities were, indeed, so blatant—Clementis plotting to kill Gottwald, for instance—that the embarrassment of Western Communists is immense. The French Communist press has tried to play the whole thing down and even to make it sound almost like an "ordinary" trial. For the organizers of international peace rallies and other "hands-through-the-curtain" movements everything has been made more difficult.

To the Russian and Czech rulers the elimination of the Slansky faction must have been much more important than the cultivation of left-wing good-will in the West. Perhaps some day we shall know the reason. At present there are two possible explanations. When I was last in Prague in 1949, the Gottwald-Zapotocky group was thought to be in constant danger of being

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"purged" by the men around Slansky, who appeared at that time as the *Gauleiter* imposed from outside. Gradually, as the Soviet Union abandoned certain Cominform conceptions, such as the sharp division of the world into two camps, and concentrated on the necessity of "co-existence" while waiting for the capitalist powers to rot away—or even to fight each other, according to Stalin's recent pronouncement—Slansky's domination began to suit Moscow less and less, for both international and internal Czech reasons. The economic-reorganization processes of the last two years had caused great discontent among the Czechs, and Gottwald was being considered by more and more people as a lesser evil and much more "one of us" than Slansky. There is therefore little doubt that Slansky's fall from grace was generally welcomed, though a relatively Western country like Czechoslovakia could hardly have welcomed the gruesome comedy of the trial. In this the Russians may well have miscalculated.

On balance, however, the Russians must know that the liquidation of Slansky is somehow identified in Czech minds with a victory of "our own" people over "outsiders." The fact that, largely by accident, all the Slansky men were Jews—Clementis was really dragged into this trial quite artificially—and that some of them were "internationalists" or, to use the phrase now current, "homeless cosmopolitans," more willing in certain circumstances to serve Moscow than the real Czechs, emphasized this point. It was the misfortune of the victims of the purge that while in 1948-49 it happened to suit Moscow to use them as stooges, it suited Moscow now to abandon them.

But there was perhaps another reason for disregarding the deplorable impression the trial was bound to make on the left throughout Western Europe—the jitters of the Russian and Czech rulers. In view of what is probably thought to be the growing danger of war they may well have judged it imperative to create a completely "united" and "foolproof" Communist Party in Czechoslovakia, full of truly "stable" and "disciplined" characters—no Jewish intellectuals, please! Their mood may have been not unlike the mood that existed in Russia in 1937-38, at the time of the great Moscow purge trials, when war seemed imminent.

Dark Road in Kenya

BY ELIZABETH E. HOYT

NORTH of Nairobi, and exactly on the equator, the snow-clad summit of Mount Kenya stands out against the sky. During the heat of the day clouds cover it, the ever-changing cumuli that continually rise and dissolve over the hills of the Kikuyu Reserve. Children are taught by their parents to look toward Mount Kenya in the morning and in the evening, for among those snows, they say, is a holy place. "God lives there," they tell the children; "it is the home of Ngai." To themselves, though not to the children, some of them now say that since Europeans have climbed Mount Kenya and defiled it, perhaps God does not live there any more.

Armored cars are rolling over the Kikuyu country now. The decencies have broken down; blood has been flowing. What lies behind this terror? It is the fact that the sudden sweep of Western life and its mechanical instruments into the Kikuyu country has found no adequate human institutions to guide and interpret it. With increased means of communication, tribal and individual self-consciousness has also greatly increased, and tremendous new forces have sought outlets, overflowing the old channels. The destructive effects of undigested cultural change can be seen all over the world, but in the Kikuyu Reserve the speed of the change and certain special conditions have heightened the tragedy.

I lived on the Kikuyu Reserve with a Cambridge University girl, an anthropologist who was studying the life of women and children. She warned me before I joined her that I might not like the Kikuyu. "They have a very bad reputation," she said. "People call them sullen and suspicious, and distrust them. That isn't the way I feel about them, but if you come you can see for yourself."

In the Fort Hall district the country is all hills, and the planting is done either on slopes or in narrow valleys where streams become torrents in the rains and disappear in the dry season. The violent rains wash the soil down the hillsides, and the women protect their gardens with little rows of brush which are only slightly better than no erosion control at all. The small plots produce a variety of crops—bananas, maize, millet, some cassava, sugar cane, sorghum, sweet potatoes, beans. Along the streams the wild arrowroot is protected, since the roots are something to fall back on in time of famine.

We walked up and down these hillsides daily, greeted

ELIZABETH E. HOYT, professor of economics at Iowa State College, spent some time among the Kikuyu tribe in Kenya in 1951 while making a study of cultural change accompanying economic development on a Fulbright grant.

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always by the women working in the garden plots. They were barefooted, and some had lost their toenails from the rough soil. Breaking up the ground is supposed to be men's work, but we saw it done by women and once by two girls about six and seven, who laughed as they made the clods fly. In some places were little platforms raised above the ground where old women sat to scare the birds away from the gardens. A few relics of the original forest were left. Most of the trees, however, were eucalyptus and wattle brought in from Australia. The bark of the wattle, a kind of acacia, is used in tanning and is the chief cash crop of the Kikuyu in this region.

I know little about their incomes, but the United States Department of State estimates that the annual per capita income in Kenya as a whole is $40. Since the 30,000 Europeans and 100,000 Indians in Kenya are more prosperous than the 5,000,000 Africans, an estimate of $25 or $30 for Africans can be made. In Nairobi, where pay tends to be highest, wages run from $5.60 to $8.40 a month for laborers up to $21 a month for artisans.

My friend's work took her into many homes. The children, even as young as three, came with outstretched hands to meet the guests and watched quietly while the babies were measured. My friend said she had never seen a parent strike a child. We spent a good deal of time in the markets. The friendliness with which the women received us was almost exhausting. They seized our hands, patted our shoulders, looked deep into our eyes, poured out welcoming words. The goods sold in the markets were almost entirely local products—vegetables, fruits, hides and skins, articles made by blacksmiths, domestic animals. Non-native goods—bread, sugar, tea, liniment—were offered in small stores. There were far too many of these for the volume of trade, and the daily intake of some was said to be not more than twenty cents. In a poor little shop where the total stock was not worth more than ten dollars one copy of one book was for sale: "Cry, the Beloved Country."

I visited many Kikuyu schools. Most of these were mission schools which the government subsidized; many new ones were being built, usually on hilltops, the materials and labor being furnished largely by the Kikuyu. Other schools had been built entirely by the Kikuyu because the British did not move fast enough. These "independent" schools were woefully understaffed, for few good teachers were available. But the people made great sacrifices for their schools, giving in some cases half of their cash income and even selling their land and cattle to get money to contribute. I saw whole communities carrying stones to hilltops and working like bees to build the schools. A part of the children's education, in some places, was to roof the buildings where later they could study. Nowhere, I was told, was school discipline a problem, and again and again, when we suddenly opened the door of a schoolroom without a teacher, we found all the children with their noses buried in their books. They often teach their parents to read at night. The children wore all kinds of clothing and scraps of clothing, including old army overcoats with the sleeves cut out and the skirts dragging on the ground.

AMONG British and Kikuyu I often heard Jomo Kenyatta's euphonious name. After his stay in London he had spent several years in Moscow, and when he returned, a record was made of the greeting the Kikuyu gave him. He was hailed as a savior, the black man who had been received as the equal of the whites in Europe and had now come back to his own people to deliver them from bondage. In yearning and in triumph the cry "Jomo Kenyatta!" rose sharp and clear; then the inarticulate shouts of ten thousand tribesmen were like the roaring of the sea.

Jomo Kenyatta

When I asked the educated Kikuyu whom I met—a very special group, of course—about Kenyatta, the response was almost always a troubled one. "Yes," I was told, "he is a wonderful orator. He holds great crowds spellbound. It is marvelous to see him sway the people. But—we are not sure if he is a good leader. He collects large sums of money. Some of us would like to see an account of it. He lives much better than we. If you ask him a direct question he knows how to evade it. If you charge him with evasion he laughs, and you feel like a fool. He is intelligent. He bases his appeal to the people on what education can do for them. He is also a master-actor. Maybe he has acted too long."

"Would he talk with me about education if I went to the independent school at Gethunguri?"

"Oh, yes, certainly, he would be happy to tell an American about his work."

I wrote to Jomo Kenyatta saying that I was an American and was deeply interested in the people's efforts to get education. I would like to come to Gethunguri and I was free on certain dates. If he would not be there, I said, I should appreciate knowing when he could see me. I received no answer, but I went to Gethunguri—it was not an easy place to reach—and was told there that both Kenyatta and the headmaster had just left, to be gone several days at least. That, if it was a discourtesy, was the

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only one I received from Africans in my seven months with them.

At least, however, I saw the Gethunguri Teachers' College. What impressed me most was the women's quarters, the best accommodations for African women I saw in East Africa. They had been made possible by contributions from thousands of bowed, bare-footed women like those whose homes we had visited and who had welcomed us in the markets of Fort Hall.

When Europeans in Kenya speak of Jomo Kenyatta, they are likely to speak of Moscow in the same breath, though both Europeans and Africans told me they believed communism meant nothing to the Kikuyu masses —as yet. I met one avowed follower of Kenyatta whom I questioned:

> What do you know about Moscow? . . . It is a great city of the Europeans.
>
> But what does it stand for? . . . It welcomed Jomo Kenyatta. It said he was as good as the Europeans. It was the first European city to do that.
>
> Have you ever heard of communism? . . . Yes, I have heard of it. It is something European, I think.
>
> Are you interested in it? . . . No. We can't bother with things European. We have to think about the Kikuyu here.
>
> Moscow is the world's center of communism, I said.
>
> All I know, he replied, is that Moscow welcomed Jomo Kenyatta. It may be for communism as you say. That is not our business.

The fact that the Kikuyu independent school movement was promoted by Jomo Kenyatta naturally colored the British attitude toward it. And yet, I said to a friendly Britisher, it seems to me that this Kikuyu undertaking is one of the great educational movements of history. "False shepherds, false shepherds!" he replied, shaking his head. "These people are sadly exploited by their own leaders." "False shepherds or not," I answered, "the people's hunger is not false and their sacrifices are not false either. The shepherds might not do such harm if we gave these people more of a helping hand." "We do give them a helping hand," he protested, "but with circumspection. Rome was not built in a day. We have the welfare of these people at heart, you know that. Let us have a few hundred years." He went on with a smile: "You Americans are always in a hurry. It sometimes seems as if the people with the least experience are the most eager to give advice."

I CAME home. The tension grew, and darker accounts arrived from both Kikuyu and British. Six Kikuyu boys managed to get to the United States to study last year, and one of them came to my home, practically as a member of the family. His own home was in Fort Hall, the district where I had lived. He had been critical of the British in Kenya; he still thought they were slow. But now he saw that they, especially the colonial government, were trying to do something but did not know the best way. Did I think they would hold his criticisms against him now? How could he work with them best? Did I think agriculture or the social sciences or education would be the most useful major? In the United States, he said,

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Two Labor M. P.'s, Fenner Brockway and Leslie Hale, visited Kenya last month at the invitation of leaders of the Kenya African Union. On their return they submitted the following statement to Parliament:

We disagree profoundly with [Colonial Secretary] Oliver Lyttelton when he says that social and economic grievances are not the cause of Mau Mau.

Mau Mau is an ugly and brutal form of extreme nationalism. It is based on frustration. Frustration brings bitterness, and bitterness brings viciousness. The fact that it first attacked Africans rather than Europeans is an indication of the depth of the bitterness. It struck murderously and tragically at those of its own race who are cooperating with the administration.

These frustrations arise from, among other things, the humiliations of the color bar, the destruction of the old tribal system without the substitution of a satisfactory new [social] system, land hunger, wages which in thousands of cases do not satisfy physical hunger, appalling housing conditions, and the fantastic rise in the price of *posho* (maize flour). This staple food of the people has increased 600 per cent in price since the beginning of the war.

We have been delighted and surprised by the extent of agreement among men and women of good-will—Europeans, Asians, Africans, and Arabs—as to the measures necessary to meet the situation. Responsible opinion in all four races now accepts the need for the progressive elimination of the color bar, the extension of cooperative farming in the African reserves pending the consideration of the land problem by the Royal Commission, reduction of the price of *posho* by a subsidy or other method, advance in wage standards, particularly in the minimum wage; rapid improvement in housing conditions, extension of free education, and the democratization of the local administration.

We have heard it suggested that the Kenya African Union should be proscribed. This would be a disastrous mistake. It would intensify bitterness and spread a feeling among Africans that the government is using the crimes of the Mau Mau to strike at legitimate African rights. We have met the new officers of the Kenya African Union . . . and know that they are devoted to constructive progress. If the Kenya African Union were dissolved by government action, the Africans would lose the right to express themselves through their own most representative organization, and the hope of their cooperation in working out the future patterns of Kenya would be gravely imperiled.

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he had learned the difference between a value judgment and a functional judgment. Professor Drake had taught him that social scientists must tell the truth.

Last September the Mau Mau troubles were in the offing, and that was what we talked about. "I am frightened," he said; "I am afraid great harm is going to be done. The masses of the Kikuyu are excited; they are terribly angry over wrongs that happened long ago. They do not know how hard it is for them to bridge a cultural gap, or for the British to help them do it. I once did not know myself. That is one of the things I learned here. I am afraid that there will be violence and they will not know what they are doing. I do not know who can tell them in time."

Could you tell them, if you were there? . . . I hope to learn better how to tell them. But whoever does that successfully must be able to work with the British, too. To be successful now it is necessary to have the confidence of both sides, and you have to feel confidence in both.

Do you feel confidence in the British? . . . Some of them are trying their best, but it is hard for them to see what is inside us. They see our bodies, and they see part of our minds, but they don't see what our souls are like. They can speak so easily, but we say foolish words, or we are dumb. If we make mistakes it is hard for them to trust us still. But it is so easy to make mistakes. And to keep on going straight ahead, with abysses on each side, is like walking on a knife edge all the time.

How does the basic problem look to you? . . . The people are waking up suddenly. They want education so that they can participate in this new world. They don't get it. They don't get jobs of any importance. They can't communicate very well. They are frustrated. So they turn their attention to politics, where they can throw themselves around and seem to be doing something.

What could we Americans do that would count most? . . . Help to get education for the Kikuyu—you have helped me here and could help them there. Help to spread understanding of the tensions that torment us. You could find a way to do that without offending anybody, perhaps by speaking through the United Nations. Those are the important things because they are the foundation of everything else.

Japan Wants Birth Control

BY MARGARET SANGER

Bombay

IN OCTOBER, 1952, I visited Japan on my way to the International Conference on Planned Parenthood at Bombay, India, just thirty years after my first eventful stay there. I found that thinking men and women were still concerned with the great problem of how to curb population growth, how to bring the rapidly increasing number of people in their islands into a sane and humane balance with the country's limited resources. In other ways there was a vast difference between the two visits. The military controlled Japan thirty years ago. Officials were so shocked at the idea of birth control being openly discussed that my lectures were greatly curtailed. I had been invited to Japan by a number of liberal intellectuals known as the Kaizo group, who planned a series of lectures to be given by four Western writers and leaders of thought. The first was Bertrand Russell, the second, Albert Einstein; I was to be the third. I was finally allowed to discuss "Population and Peace" with the understanding I would not mention birth control from a public platform. The uproar in official circles over my subject cut short the Kaizo project. As a consequence H. G. Wells, who was to follow me, never went to Japan to deliver his lecture. On my recent visit I was warmly welcomed, invited to speak whenever possible, urged to help in the effort to educate the Japanese people to avail themselves of government-sanctioned medical means of spacing their babies.

The population of Japan in 1922 was 66,000,000. Each year this hard-working, courageous, courteous, beauty-loving people was adding between 750,000 and 800,000 to its teeming millions—new lives to care for, new mouths to feed. The available space at that time, although very inadequate, was much greater than it is today, since the military-planned expansion had allowed Japanese families to take up residence in Formosa, Korea, Manchuria, and the islands of the western Pacific. By June 1, 1952, 85,000,000 people were living in a space that had been greatly reduced by Japan's defeat in the Second World War.

I firmly believe history will record the fact that no people in the world today are making greater sacrifices in the effort to lower their birth rate than the Japanese. The idea of family limitation is not new to them. At the time of the Meiji Restoration in 1867,

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when the Emperor's sweeping reforms brought the Islands into contact with Western sanitation and health measures, the population had been stationary for more than a century. The first national census in 1726 produced the figure of 26,000,000. The census of 1846 still showed 26,000,000. The number had been kept down by the practice of infanticide, high infant and maternal mortality, a high stillbirth rate, and numerous abortions. Two children were considered enough for any family to feed and educate. The sharp population increase began shortly after Commodore Perry's historic visit to Japan in 1854, which opened some ports to foreign trade. The rise occurred despite continuing high stillbirth and infant-mortality rates. Statistics available for the early twentieth century show some 90 stillbirths per 1,000 births. By 1920 both the birth rate and the stillbirth rate had declined, the latter to 66 per 1,000.

AT THE time of my first visit to Japan the intelligent people I met seemed eager for information about birth control and, more important, to pass on this help to those who needed it most. They wanted to avoid undesired pregnancies and an increasing birth rate. The density of population in 1920 was 380 persons per square mile of land area. In Japan, a country of mountains and rivers, only one acre in six is cultivable. This meant that if the people had been distributed evenly over the cultivable land, each square mile of such land would have contained 2,500 persons. Thinking people knew that the increasing land hunger would lead to disastrous, humiliating war. But the military clique which was growing in power at that time had its own plans. Its encouragement of big families and denial of the knowledge of how families could be limited forced women into the cruel practice of abortion.

In 1938 a Ministry of Health and Social Affairs was created. From this time on, physical training and population growth were heavily emphasized. Paradoxically, in the same year the Japanese government approved the Eugenic Protection law legalizing the interruption of pregnancy for medical and eugenic reasons. This further increased the number of abortions.

After the war the birth rate and stillbirth rate rose sharply in Japan, as in Germany and many other countries. At the present time it is difficult to differentiate between stillbirths and induced abortions. Many Japanese women, even though induced abortion is legal and since 1946 has been permitted for economic as well as physical reasons, fail to register abortions as such. By law, abortions after the third month of pregnancy, when the foetus is viable, must be reported. Stillbirths from the fourth month to gestation must be reported by the family but not necessarily by the physician. It is hoped that a new project undertaken by Dr. Y. Koya, Director of Public Health, will produce a more reliable way of determining the number of abortions and stillbirths. Despite the confusion of figures, the conservative estimate of most physicians is that there were one million interruptions of pregnancy in 1950. The number for 1952 is expected to be twice as large, and unless one of the new simple, inexpensive contraceptives is available soon, even larger the following year.

Hunger, misery, and overcrowding are part of this desperate situation. Though physicians have improved their techniques of abortion during the past year, it is tragic that women must resort to this traumatic method of terminating an unborn life when they might be supplied with safe contraceptives, easy to use and within their income. Many new simple contraceptives are showing promise in the experimental stage—jellies, pills, and injections that include vitamins, hormones, enzymes, and special chemicals. The need for them is great everywhere, but nowhere greater than in Japan.

The government recently legalized birth control, the first in the world to take this step. Unfortunately an adequate educational program has not been worked out, one which stresses the important fact that abortion is not contraception, that there are better and safer ways of spacing pregnancies and limiting families.

Several interesting health projects were brought to my attention in Japan. One of the most fruitful is the series of test studies being conducted in three rural villages, sponsored by the Organization for Research on Population Health and directed by Dr. Y. Koya. These studies have proved that the population problem in Japan has shifted from the economic to the public-health field, that the prevalence of abortions has adversely affected the health of Japanese mothers. I rejoice that the organization has taken the correct strong stand against induced abortions and hope that it will go on to favor birth control by contraceptive methods and so make abortions unnecessary.

Abortions threaten the health of the mother without preventing renewed pregnancy at an early date. Next to infanticide they are the worst means of checking population increase. In Japan as anywhere the general practice of induced abortion merely replaces one evil with another. Let us hope that an end to this suffering, waste, enfeeblement, and despair is in sight. Let us hope that soon a

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simple, safe contraceptive will emerge from the research laboratories. Japan is ready and eager to take advantage of it.

An accurate picture of the factors causing the current rapid increase in the world's population is urgently needed, not just in Japan but everywhere. Each country can cooperate in ascertaining these factors with the hope that the United Nations will eventually propose a sound population policy. Basic requirements are adequate data on birth and death rates, evaluation of attitudes on the spacing of children and on family limitation, and a study of methods of contraception.

Labor Makes Up Its Own Mind

BY A. A. LIVERIGHT and BERNARD KARSH

"NO LABOR leader can deliver the vote," said Walter Reuther when he was consulted by the platform-drafting committee of the Democratic Party. The man who has since been elected president of the C. I. O. continued: "If any labor leader says he can deliver the labor vote he is kidding you or himself. He can influence and try to mobilize his people around issues, and they will deliver the vote."

The election results bore out this statement, showing clearly that indorsement by the heads of labor does not guarantee a victory at the polls. On the other hand, careful analysis of the returns from industrial areas discovers no mass defections of workers from the Democratic Party. In such strongly organized urban areas as the counties embracing Cleveland, Youngstown, Canton, and Akron in Ohio, and Detroit, Flint, and Grand Rapids in Michigan, Governor Stevenson ran better than President Truman did four years ago.

Many top labor leaders wonder, however, how large a proportion of their membership echoed the statement made by a steel worker recently when he was asked how he felt about the union's political activities. "I don't want the union or anybody else to tell me how to vote," he said. "It's my constitutional right to vote as I see fit. I don't even tell my wife how to vote. The union should stay out of politics—absolutely. They have enough trouble in the shop without taking on politics."

The effectiveness of labor's political program in the recent election campaign will be debated for months. In the meantime, let us take a look at what officers and members thought about union political action during the spring and summer of 1952. In the course of a research project carried out at the Industrial Relations Center of the University of Chicago, we discussed the subject with more than a thousand trade-unionists. We sampled steel workers, oil workers, coal miners, automobile workers, and garment workers. We talked at length with union officers. Our conclusions can be summarized as follows:

1. Local union officers and the small core of active members are unconditionally in favor of union political action; the majority of inactive members are split between all-out and qualified support. However, in some locals as many as a third of the rank and file are categorically opposed to any union political activity.

2. Both leaders and rank and file feel strongly that the union should provide them with honest, complete data on the record of candidates and the issues of the election, but they hold to their right to vote according to their own conscience.

3. The leaders generally recognize that political action by the union is an extension of the collective-bargaining function, that what is won around the conference table can be lost in Washington. The average member, with reservations about political action to begin with, has a more limited perspective. He has seen how community political action can neutralize the police during a strike and tends to be in favor of it in his own city, but he feels that the collective-bargaining arm of the union ends just outside the plant gates.

4. Both rank-and-file members and local officers resent having political issues oversimplified. They don't like hearing the Taft-Hartley act called a "slave-labor" law when it has not as yet made slaves of them. They suspect any approach which would drive them into a certain position.

5. Almost half of the union officers questioned thought that labor "rides the tail of the Democratic kite" and has little part in indorsing individual candidates in either party. Fully half of the inactives in one local, when asked for their views on P. A. C. (the C. I. O.'s Political Action Committee), responded with variations of "What's P. A. C.? or even "Who's he?" When the idea was explained to them, not many were sympathetic. Local union leaders in attendance at a labor institute last summer were asked to indicate on a questionnaire which of a number of factors would influence them most

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strongly in deciding whom to vote for. Only 9 of 123 reported that they would follow strictly the indorsement of their union's political organization.

6. Almost all the officers queried and a large majority of the members, both active and inactive, seemed to feel that the welfare of the workers was best safeguarded by the Democratic Party—when it has good candidates.

7. Union members are interested in broad national issues—not just in labor legislation. A poll of union members taken before the recent election showed that the majority believed foreign policy, taxes, inflation, and civil rights to be the most important issues. Repeal of Taft-Hartley came next; communism in the United States was placed last on the list.

PROBABLY the chief reason for labor's lack of interest in political action is the defective system of education and communication within the union. The union meeting is never well attended nowadays except at a time of crisis. It served a real purpose during the turbulent late 30's when the modern labor movement was being built, but that need no longer exists. The period of organization in the mass-production industries is all but completed. In the old days the union hall provided a place where workers met and talked about the hardships of the depression and the open shop. Now they have other opportunities for social contact; mass media of communication have been greatly developed; a grievance committee handles in-shop problems. The membership is generally pretty well satisfied with the union's accomplishments.

Most local leaders have as yet failed to devise more effective methods for keeping the members informed of the union's purposes. Many feel that if the members won't come to the meetings, it is their own fault: "let them stew in their ignorance." Of course this is exactly what happens, and so the membership seldom learns the value of concerted political action.

Another reason for their apparent indifference is their traditional reverence for the secret ballot. Like all Americans, union members want to make up their own minds and not be told whom to vote for. An automobile worker whom we interviewed put it this way: "The union should definitely engage in political activity, but it shouldn't tell me to vote for John Jones because he's a union man. Let it tell me about the candidates and what they stand for and I'll vote for the one I think is the best man."

Though an increasing number of union members identify their interests with those of the Democratic Party, there are still some good Republicans among them, and these resent what seems like labor's blanket indorsement of Democratic policies. They feel that labor's political activity is forcing them into the position of either renouncing their own views or being considered disloyal members. Many unionists, as well as other citizens, think of politics and political action as something dishonest. They feel that active participation in politics is much more likely to corrupt the union than to clean up politics, that labor is not so much influencing the result as being used by politicians for their own ends. They look with distrust upon national labor leaders who become the pals of top politicians and lose contact with local officers and members. Lacking adequate understanding of why political action is an increasingly important and time-consuming activity of their leaders, some unions accuse their top officers of being more interested in their new national prestige than in labor's real problems.

Unions also have a tremendous number of members who were brought in through maintenance-of-membership and union-shop provisions and in consequence are "organized" but not "unionized." These "card-carriers" do not realize what conditions were like before the union was formed. Not knowing the score on regular union matters—either because the union has done a poor educational job or because the employer has done an effective one—they naturally don't know the score on political action and resent attempts to influence them more than do the older members.

While the political-action program of neither the A. F. of L. nor the C. I. O. has made a deep impression on the rank and file, probably more union members went to the polls this year than ever before. The constant emphasis on politics at union meetings, in union newspapers, and on the radio and television has made labor aware of the importance of political action. Marked progress has been made, but much still needs to be done. The collective-bargaining process is increasingly influenced by political decisions in which organized labor should take part. The most challenging task is to educate the rank and file on the relationship between political action and their own welfare.

The first step in this necessary educational job was taken shortly before the election when C. I. O.-P. A. C. launched a number of educational institutes whose purpose was to instruct local union heads on why unions should be in politics, not on how to finance their programs and induce people to register. But educational institutes which function only in the few months preceding a national election are not enough. A year-round, long-range "Labor and Politics" educational program is called for, focused on the fact that labor has a vital interest in political developments and aimed at the inactive members in the shop.

Our post-election discussions with A. F. of L. and C. I. O. local union officers attending labor-education classes at the University of Chicago show that since the election they are in favor of more political action—not less. They insist, however, that the labor leaders must change their methods if they hope to persuade the rank and file. And in this they are supported by the thousands

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of other union officers and members who have filled out our questionnaires on the best way to stimulate participation by labor in politics. The suggestions offered can be summarized as follows: (1) Don't tell us what to do; give us the facts and we'll make up our own minds. (2) Don't tell us to ring doorbells until we are convinced that it is important to ring them. (3) If unions are going to indorse candidates, give us some part in deciding whom they will indorse. (4) Though the Democratic Party is friendly to us, don't commit us to it so definitely that we cannot influence it, and don't forget that some good Republicans are on our side. (5) Don't just ask for a buck and say we're poor union men if we don't give it. Let us know how the buck will help us and our families.

Denmark: Something Rotten?

BY FREDERICA KIRCHNER

Copenhagen

ARE we going to allow the organized film distributors, by using economic pressure, to force newspapers to curb their critics and commentators and modify their business policies to please the moving-picture interests? This question has been given new urgency by a recent incident in Copenhagen. Since distributor organizations comprise both American and foreign film buyers, the affair has serious implications for the United States as well as for Denmark.

When Copenhagen's *Politiken,* one of the two leading Danish newspapers, upheld its film critic, Harald Engberg, who had been attacked by the film distributors for assessing pictures solely on their merits, the distributors responded with a boycott, withdrawing advertising from the *Politiken* and its sister paper, the *Ekstra Bladet.* They gave as their reason the fact that business was no longer what it used to be and that the advertising rates of the *Politiken* were too high, but their action was plainly retaliatory. The *Politiken's* rates are the same as those of the largest competing newspaper, which has an only slightly higher circulation, and that paper has lost no business.

The *Politiken's* critic is a genuine film enthusiast. He has by no means confined himself to the praise of highbrow and "art" productions but has always applauded good, entertaining, light-hearted films, even if of no special depth, so long as they showed some originality and taste. For the distributors, however, this was not enough, as was made abundantly clear in an article which appeared in the *Biograf Bladet,* their special publication. The distributors took the position—and herein lies the danger to a free press—that films deserve special consideration from newspapers in return for the steady advertising inserted by the theaters. Soon after this article appeared, a reduction in advertising rates was demanded. Citing its obligations to the public, *Politiken* refused to fire its critic and ignored the demand for lower rates.

In the meantime Mr. Engberg had been invited by the University Student Union to speak about the Danish film industry at a public open forum. In the course of his lecture he showed examples of good Danish films as well as of inferior ones. He also pointed out that, through special legislation enacted to encourage Danish film production, theaters which show Danish films exclusively receive special privileges from the government and that since 1949 the Danish film producers, who own some of the largest of these theaters, have also benefited from tax reductions which amount to a large yearly total. In return for these subsidies the producers agree to bring out each year a modest number of films measuring up to a high artistic or educational standard. The critic then charged that the producers have never carried out this agreement, and that fifteen of the sixteen to eighteen films they make each year are neither artistically nor educationally significant.

Shortly after this lecture the storm broke. The boycott was applied and at this writing is still in effect. *Politiken's* directors and shareholders, to their credit, have refused to be intimidated. Believing that what is lost in advertising revenue will be compensated for by increased prestige and the satisfaction derived from living up to a principle, they have upheld the right of staff members to express opinions in line with their convictions. Their stand has been supported by university and other groups and by many prominent individuals; commendatory letters and telephone calls have arrived in a steady stream, and many have been published.

The case developed an ironical twist when it appeared that some of the theater owners, for various reasons, were not in sympathy with the boycott. Exhibitors, however, are largely dependent upon the distributor organization, and dissenting members risk penalties. Although there is a law designed to prevent block booking and other control mechanisms directed at individuals, the practice can defeat the intentions of the law.

The affair has acquired such notoriety that two members of Parliament have addressed questions to the Minister of Justice. In effect, they have inquired whether distributors, by means of contracts with the individual theater owners, may limit the owners' freedom of action, which is guaranteed by existing laws. If the dispute is not soon settled, there is likely to be a parliamentary investigation. The outcome will be of great interest, for so far Denmark has always effectively protected its people's civil rights.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

"They Marched Before Us"

ISRAEL: THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A STATE. By Harry Sacher. The British Book Center. $5.

THE MAGIC CARPET. By Shlomo Barer. Harper and Brothers. $3.50.

MR. SACHER'S study of the establishment of the Jewish state is described by the publishers as "the first authoritative account" of the Jewish-Arab war. The encomium is presumably intended to distinguish this work from the host of others on the same subject which have preceded it. Though Mr. Sacher's book is by no means a definitive history, it is an appreciable step in that direction. Too many previous attempts to record the rise of Israel have been journalistic quickies. The author's long career as a Zionist leader, British publicist, and former member of the Jerusalem Bar has given him both background and opportunities for writing something more solid than impressionistic reportage.

Mr. Sacher limits his account to the diplomatic and military events which brought Israel into being. He wisely omits the history of Zionism and of the Jewish National Home. It is regrettable that he did not restrict his field still further. The first part of the book, which deals with the political history of the establishment of Israel, reviews such familiar territory as the findings of the Anglo-American Committee without making any significant additions. This section could well have been condensed in favor of the more informative second part, which deals specifically with the war. It is here that the writer's intimate knowledge of all phases of the Jewish struggle is most rewarding.

A fascinating question of the Arab-Israel war is how the tiny Jewish state with a population of 600,000 managed to repulse the onslaught of six Arab states with a combined population of more than 30,000,000. After reading Mr. Sacher's punctilious analysis of the man-power and military equipment of each invading Arab army, as well as of the meager resources available to Israel, the question of the ultimate victory becomes even more tantalizing. The usual David-Goliath parallel explains nothing save for the true believer. Mr. Sacher, despite his sober and factual tone, falls back on the by now routine thesis that the Jews had no choice but to win or perish, whereas the Arabs could always go home to their own spacious territories. One wonders whether future historians will accept this heroically simple answer. Probably they will find less irritatingly romantic explanations than morale or the mystique of Jewish suffering. However, for the record, it may be well to remember that many Israelis incorrigibly offer statistics all their own. They add the six million Jewish dead to the roster of their forces: "They marched before us."

Some of the questions with which Mr. Sacher deals are still of immediate interest. His account of the Arab exodus underlines once more the extent to which it was deliberately stimulated by the Arab high command. In view of the continued exploitation of the plight of the Arab refugees by Arab spokesmen and their sympathizers both in and out of the United Nations, Mr. Sacher's thoroughly documented, unpolemical review of the events which led to the present situation serves as a useful reminder of the direct responsibility of the Arab leadership not only for the original flight but for the continued misery of the Palestinian refugees. The naive Machiavellianism of the Arab statesmen, who openly proclaim their intention of maintaining the Palestinian Arabs as a fifth column for an eventual "second round," ruthlessly keeping the victims of their strategy penned up in refugee camps for that purpose, becomes even more transparent as one reads the dismal record.

Sometimes flabbiness is mistaken for objectivity. Mr. Sacher's appraisals of past and present issues are dispassionate but clear-cut. Anyone looking for a colorful, eloquent narrative of the rise of Israel will have to go elsewhere. At the same time Mr. Sacher's self-imposed limitations are his virtues. Enough sentimental personal accounts of the Israel struggle have already appeared. Until the "great" history of the war is written, perhaps by Ben Gurion himself, we must be grateful for a lucid, temperate, and factual account.

"The Magic Carpet," on the other hand, an eyewitness story of the Yemenite migration to Israel, has plenty of color. The author gives little new information, but he offers fresh glimpses of the most extraordinary and picturesque episode in the Ingathering of Exiles.

MARIE SYRKIN

Science and Religion

RELIGION IN 20TH-CENTURY AMERICA. By Herbert Wallace Schneider. Howard University Press. $4.25.

MODERN SCIENCE AND MODERN MAN. By James B. Conant. The Bampton Lectures in America. Columbia University Press. $2.25.

ACCORDING to one tenable opinion it is the business of science to tell us what the universe is like and the business of religion—or ethics—to tell us how we should behave in it. Each has on occasion asserted its competence to do both, and that is the principal reason for the "conflict" between the two which seemed to the nineteenth century the most significant phenomenon of the times. More recently each has acquired the habit of bowing politely to the other and sometimes even of saying, "You go first, my dear Gaston." But not much has been accomplished except a certain restoration of good temper. After the preliminary exchange of courtesies, religion is likely to say, "What you tell us is true but not very relevant and quite possibly dangerous"; science is likely to reply, "I hope you will learn soon to do your job, but you haven't accomplished much so far."

The two books listed above should be reviewed together because they are so far apart. Professor Schneider's is a factual, essentially sociological study of the present state of religion, especially organized religion, in the United States, with a

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great deal of information about churchgoing, the secularization of the churches, the rise of various minor sects, and the like. President Conant's is an unusually lucid, popular account of what the new physics means both in its own terms and in terms of its probable effects upon the living and thinking of human beings. The one author is as fully aware that the changes which he describes are due chiefly to scientific and technological advances as the other is that such advances do have moral and philosophical consequences. Moreover, Professor Schneider is very far from reproaching science, President Conant very far from demanding the resignation of religion and ethics. But there is no getting together. Having discussed his specialty, each bows out. In effect each says to the other, "From here on I leave it to you." In terms of the task which each has set himself this is no doubt proper, but the tacit admissions which each makes forbid him, nevertheless, to deny that the unattempted task is vastly important.

In the case of President Conant's book the brilliant adequacy of the first two lectures serves only to emphasize the extent to which the last two do little more than acknowledge the existence of problems with which the author will not undertake to deal. The opening lecture, Science and Technology in the Last Decade, turns around the fact that during this decade the highly trained scientist replaced the mere inventor as the initiator of technological advances, while at the same time the military importance of the new discoveries tended to put science more and more under the control of government. The second lecture, The Changing Scientific Scene, stresses the truly revolutionary character of the new physics and prepares the way for what is to come by insisting that our conception of the nature and real meaning of scientific hypotheses and methods has undergone a fundamental change.

> The idea that there could be two diametrically opposed theories as to the nature of heat, or of light, or of matter, and that both could be rejected and confirmed as a consequence of experiments would have been considered nonsense to almost all sane people fifty years ago. . . . The new insight comes from a realization that the structure of nature may eventually be such that our processes of thought do not correspond to it sufficiently to permit us to think about it at all. . . . We are now approaching a bound beyond which we are forever estopped from pursuing our inquiries, not by the construction of the world, but by the construction of ourselves.

What this ultimately comes down to and what President Conant, without using quite these words, seems ready to admit is simply this: the old objection that certain metaphysical concepts like those of right and wrong, free will, individual responsibility, and so on are necessarily false or meaningless because they are not consistent with the known facts of the "real world" will no longer hold, for these "known facts" about the "real world" are not consistent with themselves, and the paradoxes and ambiguities of physics are now at least as great as those of even theology, not to say metaphysics.

Reviewing President Conant's previous book, "Science and Common Sense," I somewhat brashly—but I think not unjustifiably—accused him of brushing aside without seeming to understand it the whole question of value judgments. No such accusation could be made here, and the whole emphasis seems to be shifted. "The activities of scientists in their laboratories are shot through with value judgments," but they are not based upon what they learn in these same laboratories.

> Scientific theories . . . have little or no bearing on the age-old problem of good and evil. . . . My preference would be [not for materialism as a unifying philosophy] but for more adequate exploration of special limited areas of experience; one of these would include those experiences which can be ordered in terms of a system of spiritual values.

To put it in the simplest possible terms, President Conant—and he undoubtedly speaks for many fellow-scientists—definitely repudiates the once popular belief that science can become common sense and that common sense can supply all we need to live by. It seems a pity that so many psychologists and sociologists insist upon clinging to conceptions of science by now pretty generally abandoned by those physicists who have the best knowledge of that branch of science which seems to be making the greatest strides today.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Some Truths About Korea

KOREAN TALES. By Melvin B. Voorhees. Simon and Schuster. $3.

FOR ten years now Melvin B. Voorhees has been on active duty with the United States army; before that he was a newspaperman in Tacoma and Seattle, Washington, and he has most recently been a chief censor of the Eighth Army in Korea and president of its general courts martial. Ironically, as this is written, Lieutenant Colonel Voorhees is on his way to Fort Meade,

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Maryland, to face a court martial himself.

The reason is that the Colonel has written a book, an often angry book, an often tender book, an always revealing book, but according to the deputy information officer of the army an "unseemly" book. No security is involved; no offending passages have yet been cited; and Colonel Voorhees has not been accused of any political indiscretions.

What he has done is tell the uncomfortable, sometimes terrifying truth.

If he were a professional anti-militarist or one of that partially naive but mainly calculating minority which believes that the answer to world peace is a unilateral withdrawal from Korea on the part of the United Nations, much of what he has to say could be ignored. He is neither. Although he admits that he is not without "prejudices and predilections," he writes, ". . . I trust them, for they stem, I must believe, from an honest heart and a balanced mind."

As a result, he has apparently further unsettled a few already troubled consciences, particularly among some of the higher ranking brass as well as among members of the press corps responsible for what is surely the worst-reported war of this century. Being a former newspaperman, Colonel Voorhees does not consider civilian correspondents in uniform—with the simulated rank of major or above—in any way sacred. He has placed on the public record what has for a long time been an unreported but open scandal—the fact that most of the three hundred correspondents usually in Korea have been without social consciousness or any "moral willingness to confess error or untruth."

Moreover, the Colonel writes, many correspondents have often violated military security and, as a group, have been "subject to the extreme of pessimism. . . . Much of this was due to the newsman's maxim that disaster is the biggest news of all." It was also caused by the fact that many of the correspondents were simply incompetent; they still are. As one more experienced reporter told Voorhees, the majority "couldn't compete on the City Hall beat of a small city at home. They aren't war correspondents; they are 'legmen' and 'stringers.'"

True, there have been notable and courageous exceptions, the New York *Herald Tribune's* Homer Bigart, for example, but the Colonel adds that Mr. Bigart's attractive colleague, Marguerite Higgins, was, to put it kindly, "inevitably a nuisance."

And there is much more: the often ill-informed dispatches about the war written from Tokyo by men who, except for a flying trip or two, have never been on the scene: the stories slanted to conform to a newspaper's editorial policy, particularly those printed in the Chicago *Tribune* emphasizing U. N. casualties after MacArthur was relieved from duty—the Colonel was back home when the Scripps-Howard papers followed that shameful precedent to influence the recent Presidential election; and, most frightening of all, the way in which the press corps forced its way into the peace negotiations at Kaesong in July, 1951, "although never in history had news reporters attended a battlefield meeting of combatants looking toward a life-saving armistice."

The press in the United States is not sacrosanct, although it suffers from an increasing tendency to consider itself so. If, as is now planned, Sigma Delta Chi, the professional journalism fraternity, investigates, with the help of a foundation, the shamefully one-sided press account of the 1952 campaign, it might also take a look at the deplorable lack of responsibility shown by the press in its handling of the Korean war.

Of course the newspaper reporters do not deserve all the blame for the breaks in censorship on that beleaguered peninsula. In February, 1951, just before the tragic Eighth Army push to the north got under way, "one of the most serious breaches of security during the war" took place. "Its source was none other than the United States Supreme Commander, General of the Army Douglas MacArthur."

At the time MacArthur announced the offensive, attacking elements of the Eighth were "not yet in contact with the enemy and presumably the latter did not know their whereabouts." Shortly afterward the rains began, and the offensive broke down. "No one will ever know," the Colonel concludes, "how much of the failure of the attack should be charged to inclement weather and how much to the disclosure of the army's intention."

In his chapter on The Generals, Colonel Voorhees looks not only at MacArthur but at the other commanders in Korea as they should be looked at, as men with terrible responsibilities, capable of error, of pettiness, and often of greatness too. What he says is urgently important.

Of the twenty brief "Korean Tales," thirteen are factual and seven are half-fictional. The latter deal mainly with enlisted men and Korean civilians. The Colonel writes simply and eloquently of both; in so doing he has, almost for the first time, made clear the meaning of the unhappy battle being fought by the historic Eighth Army, the headquarters of which "directs the ground forces of sixteen nations bound together in a peace pact and sworn mutually to resist aggression."

Fortunately, Colonel Voorhees has not been frightened into silence, and for his courage he deserves gratitude, not a court martial.

MERLE MILLER

A Catholic View of Communism

BOLSHEVISM: AN INTRODUCTION TO SOVIET COMMUNISM. By Waldemar Gurian. University of Notre Dame Press. $3.25.

IF ANYONE overlooks this study on the assumption that the Catholic view can make no real contribution to the understanding of contemporary political issues, it will be one more sign of the retreat from thinking to doctrinaire slogans with which our world is plagued. The author's writings have been excluded from both the Nazi and the Communist versions of totalitarian society, but he presents a thesis here that is also a challenge to the rationalist and liberal tradition. As a Catholic who writes, so to speak, from outside the rationalist tradition, his work displays a freshness and penetration not to be found elsewhere. In this respect it is very much more than an introduction to Soviet communism and can be read with profit and pleasure by those who have professional familiarity with the subject.

Professor Gurian's theses, as I understand them, are two. The first holds that no contradiction exists between the basic theoretical principles of Marxism-Leninism and the flexible, cynical power politics of the Bolshevik regime. Instead, he argues, this behavior derives necessarily from these principles. The second thesis

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is that Bolshevism "brings into the open and develops to fullest size" trends that are "immanent" in our own society. These "root principles of the modern secularized era" Gurian sees as "scientism, belief in evolution, inevitable perfection, and the limitless successes of technical social engineering."

For Gurian a straight line leads from the belief that life can be made perfect on this earth, through the Bolshevik attempt to put this "perfectionist utopianism" into practice, to the horrors of the secret police and the forced labor camp. The full consequence of rationalist optimism Professor Gurian sees not as liberty but as an efficiently mechanized slavery.

Concerning the author's first thesis, the absence of contradiction between theory and practice, I think that it holds only on a high level of dialectical abstraction. A very great proportion of the Communist intellectual apparatus consists of fancy rationalization before and after the act. "Tactics" have a way of becoming "strategy" in their own right, even for utopians who must compete for power. But I would prefer to discuss the more important second thesis.

Gurian's views on the relationship between Bolshevism and secular rationalism are in line with a long tradition of criticism of our industrial civilization. To appraise it adequately in the space of a book review is impossible. In his pages the argument carries weight partly because it is free of the clever petulance of the cafe intellectual. On simple factual grounds one must clearly grant the common roots of Marxism and liberal democratic tradition—to the extent that the latter can be captured in any common body of beliefs. But it by no means follows that Marxism is somehow "immanent" in this set of rationalist and secular assumptions. It is merely one of many possible outcomes.

Instead of secular rationalism, I think it is the desire to find some absolute, and hence non-rational, anchor for beliefs and behavior that is one central source of heresy hunting among Bolsheviks as well as other groups. In various passages Professor Gurian's argument has some points in common with this interpretation, as when he refers to Bolshevism as a "secular religion" with a belief in "perfectionist utopianism." To me this implies that the quasi-religious

Will You Take Your Child Along To the Concentration Camp?

Witness, testifying before the House Committee on Un-American Activities: "Well, Mr. Tavenner (Committee Counsel), . . . I have no doubt that in these times, with concentration camps . . . being built . . . to house hundreds of thousands of people whose views this Committee does not like, that the foreign born need protection."

Rep. Walter, interrupting: "Just a minute. . . . Let me tell you those places are being built to house approximately 2,800 people who have been convicted of crimes involving moral turpitude and for whom it is impossible to obtain passports from the countries from whence they came. . . ."

BUT DID REP. WALTER TELL THE WHOLE TRUTH?

Charles R. Allen, Jr., in the Sept. 13, 1952, issue of *The New Statesman and Nation*, points out that the McCarran Act "authorizes the Attorney-General of the U. S. to apprehend and detain 'in such places of detention as may be prescribed by him . . . all persons as to whom there is reasonable ground to believe that such persons *probably* [my italics] will engage in or *probably* will conspire with others to engage in acts of espionage and sabotage.' Such procedure is contingent upon the declaration of an 'internal security emergency'." . . .

James V. Bennett, director of the Bureau of Prisons, reports $774,000 already has been expended on such camps. "Current estimates of the six camps' 'housing' facilities," writes Allen, "range from an official 15,000 to 'over 100,000'."

Guy C. Rexroad, warden of the camp at Allenwood, Pa., told Allen on an inspection tour of the camp: 3,000 persons—"men, women and children"—will be "squeezed into an oblong, single-story, cement block structure. . . ." Rexroad calculated: . . . "They can sleep in tiers—you know, those wooden, shelf-like beds. Five levels to a section. . . . It won't be a picnic; they won't have it any better than the Japanese—if as good."

The Un-American Activities Committee, by its intimidation and black-listing of writers, teachers, professionals and trade unionists, has muffled the militant voices of the land and is helping create a concentration camp atmosphere in America.

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elements in Bolshevism are the ones from which its totalitarian aspects derive. This argument can be pushed farther. Early Marxists thought they had found in nineteenth-century science their absolute foundation, to which Bolshevism still desperately clings. Their attitude toward truth is more religious than secular. In this respect the Bolsheviks differ from the contemporary Western rationalist tradition. Where, as in the latter, the provisional and conditional nature of belief is clearly recognized, the secular rationalist tradition cannot easily form the psychological foundation for totalitarian regimes.

I am also most skeptical of the solution implied in Gurian's pages and directly advocated by those who think on similar lines. It is the conservative solution of a return to religion and to older, established moral codes. In important respects, though not all, this advice represents a retreat from the problem rather than a solution. There is the further danger that in so far as a real return is ruled out under the conditions of the twentieth century, we may end up in this fashion with a pseudo-conservative solution along fascist lines and the destruction of values prized by both the rationalists and the thinkers of whom Professor Gurian is one of the best representatives.

In his concluding remarks the author expresses the hope that the challenge of communism may compel Western society to reflect more carefully on its intellectual foundations and seek more effective answers to its problems. Sharing the same hope, one can nevertheless see reasons why it may not be realized. Instead, the Communist threat may force us back on to an uncritical and emotional reaffirmation of all our assumptions and beliefs, freezing them and limiting our capacity to adapt ourselves to a new world. An irrational nativism has occurred in many societies and civilizations under threat. Should this happen to us, our enemies would win even in defeat.

Thus although one may disagree, as I do, with the crucial points of Professor Gurian's book, it undoubtedly raises some of the most significant questions of our industrial civilization and answers them in a manner that demands attention and commands respect.

BARRINGTON MOORE, JR.

Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

I UNDERSTAND that Jean-Louis Barrault was at first opposed to presenting his "Hamlet" in New York. We can only be grateful that he was persuaded to change his mind, for it turned out to be one of the most exciting performances of the series and the one in which Barrault's range as an actor was conclusively demonstrated. No other play had tested his capacity to handle the role of the tragic hero, and I for one had doubts that the clown of "Baptiste," the sophisticate of eighteenth-century and modern comedy, or the cypher of K in "The Trial" could also be the haunted Prince of Denmark. Yet in the event one has the impression that this role, of all roles, most fully engages Barrault's mind and emotions—and it is significant that "Hamlet" was the first offering of the company in Paris in 1946.

One reviewer noted that Barrault's is an "existentialist" Hamlet. Perhaps. But if so, the reason is not that Barrault in any way distorts or simplifies or "modernizes" Shakespeare's conception of Hamlet's character—I have never seen a purer interpretation; it is rather that, by investing the role with such life and immediacy, he makes us realize once more that the conception is forever timely as well as timeless. Certainly it is a French Hamlet—and the Frenchness of the whole production is one of its delights—yet the transference is not in the least disturbing and only serves to remind us, once more, that Hamlet is of all countries and of none.

The beauty and force of this Hamlet are the more amazing in that the verbal poetry is perforce missing. But there is poetry of other sorts—in the grace and lyricism of Barrault's movements, which are so integral a part of his delineation, and in the voice which endows the French prose with the qualities of poetry.

There are other fine performances. I think I have never seen so good a Polonius as that of Pierre Bertin, who brings out the quality of obtuseness, utter and invincible and in a way affecting, which seems to me more essential to this part than the mere pompous stupidity it is usually played for. And Simone Valère's Ophelia, particularly in the mad scenes, is superb. Claudius (Jacques Dacqmine) for once emerges as an individual, and one is more conscious than usual of his role as the author of evil. The queen (Marie-Hélène Dasté) is played down somewhat, appearing rather as one more pawn in Claudius's drive for power than as vicious in her own right, and this shift of emphasis seemed to me admirable.

The settings are simple and majestic, functional but not obtrusive. And the costumes, except for the garish dress of the soldiers of Fortinbras, have elegance—and a touch of French chic that is pleasing in itself and contributes not a little to the contemporaneous air with which the play is invested, for all that it is so faithfully rendered.

During its New York season the French company has presented eight of the twenty-eight plays it has produced at the Théâtre Marigny in the past six years; and the very wide range of the selections, as well as the verve and competence the players bring to every production, not only redounds to the glory of France but also points up the virtues of a repertory theater.

The three contemporary plays in the New York series could hardly have been more different one from the other. "The Trial" by Gide out of Kafka was followed by "Occupe-toi d'Amélie" by Georges Feydeau, which is a bedroom farce, *nette*. I thought it was too long in any language and that Mme Renaud was less than perfectly cast as the cocotte, but there were some extremely funny sequences, of which the funniest, particularly in view of our own Hays code, was the one in which two people who wake up in the same bed after a riotous night before try vainly and solemnly to remember whether or not they have slept together; and it was a sign of the company's devotion to the principle of "the play's the thing" that this bit of froth was performed with as much care (in abandon) as Shakespeare or Marivaux.

The third contemporary play was "La Répétition" or "L'Amour Puni" by Jean Anouilh—pronounced, as someone remarked, Anoui as in boredom. M. Anouilh is the author of the delightful "Ring Round the Moon" of two seasons ago and also of the modern version of "Antigone," which had a long run in

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Paris during the German occupation in spite of—and of course because of—its attack on tyranny.

The rehearsal of the title is the rehearsal for a performance of a play by Marivaux which Count Tigre (Jean Barrault) and his countess, Eliane (Mme Renaud), are putting on to inaugurate the founding of an orphanage on the estate they have inherited. One of the parts is assigned to a young girl, Lucile (Simone Valère), who has been engaged as a teacher. The count falls in love, seriously and for the first time, with Lucile, who represents, I take it, the new woman as well as youth and innocence. The countess is undisturbed by any number of mistresses—the current one is a member of the house party and the conversations between the two women are the high points of the play; but she sees in this attachment a genuine threat. She determines to destroy it and sees in Hero, the count's oldest friend, an instrument for carrying out her design. Hero, for reasons too complicated to go into here but sufficiently convincing, lets himself be used. The plan succeeds, and the girl, as the countess had foreseen, flees the castle.

In the final scene Hero deliberately provokes a duel in which he is sure to be killed. The play thus observes the tragic convention of expiation and retribution; but the convention remains a convention. Hero's gesture lacks the force it should have, because Hero, as drawn, is a pathetic rather than a tragic figure, and though the rather gruesome scene between him and Lucile is in itself surprisingly convincing, the sense that he rather than she is the real victim of his betrayal is never conveyed. In short, the final impression is that the countess has won, by a clever and cruel trick, and will go on winning. As a result we are left with the stark triumph of vice over virtue; we are denied the reassuring or purgative sense, which successful tragedy induces and which Hero's final gesture was designed to induce, that the triumph is only temporary.

The play is written with cleverness and wit and a good deal of wisdom as well; and if it fails to achieve the effect it strives for, it is at least an interesting failure.

To get back to domestic production, "The Seven-Year Itch" (Fulton Theater) is an ingenious, knowing, and very amusing sketch of a husband whose wife has gone to the country and has left him wide open to summer temptations in the city. The model upstairs comes down, the husband succumbs, and is thereupon beset by rosy daydreams in which the model throws herself at his feet, by counter nightmares in which his wife throws him out of the house, and by another set of fantasies in which his wife leaves him for another man who is paying her attentions in the country. It all ends happily as he rushes off for a connubial week-end. The piece is cleverly written and very well acted, particularly by Tom Ewell as the wavering husband and Vanessa Brown as the model who means no harm.

Art

S. LANE FAISON, JR.

DURING the renovation of its galleries the Metropolitan has concentrated the cream of its enormous holdings in a few rooms at the top of the main stairs. The result is so provocative that I shall begin with an appeal that the administration seriously consider retaining some such arrangement of masterpieces as a sort of super Salon Carrée. In a great museum quality is more important than chronology and the visual illustration of history. These latter demands, which are perfectly legitimate, can be met by works of less solemn significance. More often than not the great work steps out of its time. As Henri Focillon put it, the chronology of art is not necessarily chronological.

Toward the end of 1945, when the Louvre and the National Gallery in London were slowly putting themselves back together again, a few rooms were arranged to exhibit the best, and quality was the only standard of selection. As a result it was possible to compare Titian with Manet's Olympia, Rubens with Delacroix, the Mona Lisa with Corot's Woman with a Pearl, and Van Eyck's Arnolfini Portrait with the dark red splendors of a small Rembrandt.

The Metropolitan exhibition is not merely the sum of critical judgments by specialists; it offers a lively play of interrelationships. On one wall a sober Roman mural is flanked by a David and a Poussin: the dignified composure of antiquity as against the nervous violence of its emulators. In another gallery the archaic Greek Apollo projects its flat tensions across the plastic interlace of a Rubens, and Titian's Venus lolls serenely over a baroque harpsichord. Two majestic females, one Greek circa 400 and the other 'Tang Chinese, occupy

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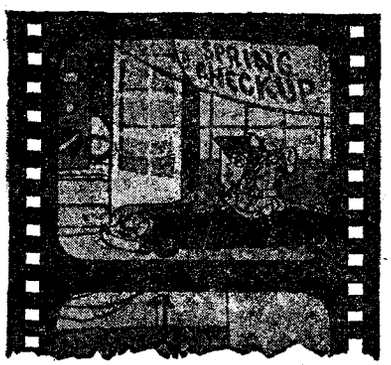
diagonally opposite corners; and two pirouetting Englishmen, by Van Dyck and Reynolds, flank a doorway. In both of these the gentility of the men is rebuked by the aristocracy of the animals. A pairing of a Romanesque and a fourteenth-century Gothic Virgin offers the maximum in contrast between solemnity and elegance. A three-foot bronze incense burner from Persia, cautiously labeled "in the shape of a feline," is juxtaposed to a life-sized set of Nürnberg armor, appropriately mounted, for man and horse. In the company of this inanimate Renaissance hero, the Persian item is indescribably comic, like a skidding polo pony, and still more like Beatrice Lillie's foot action in the scene where she plays the housemaid.

Many of the best things are very small, and under normal circumstances they are hopelessly lost somewhere in the Metropolitan. Visitors are advised to discover them before chronology swallows them up again. I refer particularly to a little sketch on limestone of bulls fighting, by an Egyptian artist momentarily free from the conventions of his time.

Twelve recent works by Jackson Pollock, at the Sidney Janis Gallery, suggested several appraisals. Number 11, one of the largest, is the finest I have yet seen: here the customarily brilliant interlace is crossed by several broad blue vertical bars which, leaning in subtly calculated diagonals, bring the whole composition into new focus and give its rhythmic power the support of powerful scale. Pollock's greatness, when applied to works like this, has not been exaggerated by his champions. On the other hand, I suspect he is incapable of producing a small work. The examples shown here and in previous exhibitions are mere fragments with little force of their own. It is time for some leading modern architect to divert to Pollock the chance to do a big mural in a public building.

A very recent trend, which I confidently predict will be called Pollock's puddle period, is visible in Number 12, another extremely large canvas. The power is there, but I find it dissipated in amorphous passages. In its emphasis on color areas, however fluidly bounded, it recalls some of the work of eight years ago, where a tighter mosaic was accomplished. Pollock's first retrospective exhibition, organized by Bennington College late in November, is currently on view at Williams College. All phases except the latest are represented in eight major examples (large ones)—major, as Clement Greenberg puts it, in that they defined style at their particular time and made their impact on the work of other artists. It seems clear to me that the full development did not arrive until Pollock began to exploit the interlace three or four years ago—not Rubens's plastic interlaced coils, but superposed flat Celtic interlaces which carve out an infinite spatial recession.

Calvin Coggeshall, exhibiting at Betty Parsons's (through December 13), is indirect where Pollock is overt. Within the modern idiom it would be difficult to imagine a greater contrast. Coggeshall limits himself to blacks, whites, pearl grays, slates, lavenders, olives, and tans. The front-plane motives are widely spaced because the background, deceptively monochromatic and deceptively flat, contains much of Coggeshall's gentle poetry. Something atune to a Rhode Island shore in the endless period before spring is what I am trying to convey. Or Connecticut.



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Records

B. H. HAGGIN

THE following are outstanding among LP records of the past year (RCA Victor: V; Columbia: C; London: L; Decca: D; Haydn Society: HS; Urania: U; Vanguard: VA; Bach Guild: BG; Period: P).

Bach: Cantata No. 4 "Christ lag in Todesbanden"; Viennese musicians under Prohaska (BG, with Cantata No. 140 "Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme") and German musicians under Lehmann (D—better performance, but occasional distortion of sound). Passacaglia for organ; Walcha (D). Ricercare in six parts from "The Musical Offering"; Stuttgart Chamber Orchestra under Münchinger (L, with arrangements of the Organ Fugue in G minor and Beethoven's Great Fugue). Part 3 of the Clavierübung (for the opening Prelude and several of the longer Chorale Preludes); Walcha (D).

Bach, K. P. E.: Magnificat and Concerto in D; Prohaska conducting Vienna State Opera Orchestra, etc. (BG).

Beethoven: Symphonies Nos. 9 and 1; Toscanini conducting NBC Symphony, etc. (V). Symphony No. 5, "Leonore" No. 1 Overture, two movements from Quartet Opus 135; Toscanini conducting NBC and BBC Symphonies (V, from old 78s). Symphony No. 6; Toscanini conducting BBC Symphony (V, from old 78s). Quartet Opus 132; Paganini Quartet (V). Piano Sonatas Opus 54 and Opus 90; Hugo Steurer (U, with uninteresting Opus 31 No. 1). Piano Concerto No. 4; Gieseking and Philharmonia Orchestra under Von Karajan (moderately good performance) (C).

Berg: "Wozzeck"; Mitropoulos conducting New York Philharmonic, etc. (C).

Berlioz: "Harold in Italy"; Royal Philharmonic and Primrose under Beecham (performance better than Koussevitzky's but not good) (C). Symphonie Fantastique; Van Beinum and Concertgebouw Orchestra (L). "King Lear," "The Corsair," "Beatrice and Benedict," and

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"The Roman Carnival" Overtures; Martinon and Lamoureux Orchestra (U).

Boccherini: Cello Concerto; Casals (V, from old 78s). Quartet Opus 6 No. 1; Quartetto Italiano (L, sound dry, with Haydn Opus 64 No. 6).

Brahms: Symphony No. 4; Toscanini and NBC Symphony (V). Haydn Variations; Toscanini and New York Philharmonic (V, from old 78s).

Chopin: Waltzes; Lipatti (C). Polonaises (the ones on the 12-inch record); Rubinstein (coarser-grained performances than those on old 78s) (V). Nocturnes; Rubinstein (V).

Debussy: "La Mer"; Toscanini and NBC Symphony (V). "Images"; Monteux and San Francisco Symphony (mediocre performances) (V). "Pelléas et Mélisande"; Ansermet conducting L'Orchestre de la Suisse romande, etc. (L).

Dowland: Songs; Langstaff (P, with Purcell songs).

Fauré: Requiem; Leibowitz conducting Paris Philharmonic, etc. (Oceanic).

Griffes: Roman Sketches and Sonata for piano; Hambro (Walden).

Handel: Sonatas for 2 violins and figured bass; Willy and Margarete Schweyda and Jan Behr (U, recorded sound very sharp). Concertos in F and B flat for string and wind instruments; Orchestra of Collegium Musicum, Copenhagen, under Friisholm (HS).

Haydn: Quartets Opus 77 Nos. 1 and 2, Opus 50 Nos. 3, 4, 5, and 6, Opus 17 No. 6; Schneider Quartet (HS). Quartet Opus 64 No. 6; Quartetto Italiano (L, with Boccherini). Missa Sancti Bernardi de Offida; Wöldike conducting Copenhagen Boys' and Men's Choir, etc. (HS). Piano Sonata No. 46; Virginia Pleasants (performance fair) (HS). Symphony No. 103 ("Drum Roll"); Münch and Boston Symphony (V, recorded sound not always clean). Symphonies Nos. 100 ("Military") and 104; London Philharmonic under Van Beinum and Krips (second movement of No. 104 too fast) (L, sound occasionally dim or veiled). Symphony No. 88; Busch and Danish State Radio Symphony (HMV, sound not clean in second half, with Mozart K.425).

Mahler: 5 Rückert songs, 4 "Lieder aus der Jugendzeit"; Poell and Felbermayer with Vienna State Opera Orchestra under Prohaska (VA). "Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen"; Thebom with orchestra under Boult (V, with Wolf songs).

Mozart: Piano Concertos K.466 and 491; Schnabel with Philharmonia Orchestra under Süsskind (HMV, need stepping up of treble and bass, finale of K.466 gritty, K.491 noisy). Piano Concerto K.488; Gieseking with Philharmonia Orchestra under Von Karajan (C, strident near the end). Clarinet Quintet K.581; Quartetto Italiano and De Bavier (L, a little veiled and edged). Perpignan Festival performances, with Casals conducting the orchestra, of Violin Concerto K.219 (Morini), Sinfonia Concertante K.364 (Stern and Primrose), Symphony K.201 and "Eine kleine Nachtmusik," Divertimento K.251 (Tabuteau) and Oboe Quartet K.370 (Tabuteau, Stern, Primrose, Tortelier) (C). Excerpts from "Idomeneo"; Glyndebourne Festival (HMV). Symphony K.425 ("Linz"); Busch and Danish State Radio Symphony (first movement too fast) (HMV, with Haydn No. 88). Symphonies K.543 and 297 ("Paris"); Krips and London Symphony (L). Piano Sonata K.576; Schatzkamer (moderately good performance) (V, with Scriabin Sonata No. 4).

Prokofiev: "Classical" Symphony; Toscanini and NBC Symphony (V, with Gershwin's "An American in Paris"). Violin Concerto No. 1; Szigeti with London Philharmonic under Beecham (C, from old 78s, with Mozart's Concerto K.218).

Purcell: Fantasias in 3, 4, and 5 parts, 2 Chaconnes; Viennese string orchestra under Litschauer (VA, with Beethoven's Great Fugue). "Dido and Aeneas"; Flagstad, etc. (HMV). Songs; Langstaff (P, with songs of Dowland).

Scarlatti: Sonatas; Long (merely fluent performances) (L).

Schubert: Quintet Opus 163; Budapest Quartet and B. Heifetz (C). Quartet "Death and the Maiden"; Koeckert Quartet (D, sound coarse). Quartet Opus 29; Vegh Quartet (L, veiled).

Schumann: "Carnaval"; Rachmaninov (V, from old 78s). "Papillons"; Kempff (L, with Liszt pieces). "Dichterliebe"; Souzay (L, with Wolf songs).

Tchaikovsky: Letter Scene from "Eugene Onegin"; Albanese and orchestra under Stokowski (V, distortion near the end). "Swan Lake"; London Symphony under Fistoulari (L).

Verdi: Excerpts from "Otello"; Steber, Vinay, Guarrera with Metropolitan Opera Orchestra under Cleva (C, sound too sharp in first-act duet).

Vivaldi: Concertos for oboe d'amore, strings, and cembalo; Virtuosi di Roma (D, sound coarse).

Wagner: "Die Meistersinger"; Vienna State Opera (L).

Wolf: "In der Frühe," "Wer tat deinem Füsslein weh?" "Herr, was trägt der Boden hier?" "Wenn du zu den Blumen gehst"; Souzay (L, with Schumann's "Dichterliebe").

Miscellaneous: Lehmann Farewell Recital (Pembroke). Ponselle, Great Duets (V Treasury Series No. 2). Arias sung by Bjoerling (V). Excerpts from "Carmen" and Rossini operas sung by Supervia (D, from old 78s). Bessie Smith (C GL-503 and 505). "Babes in Arms"; Mary Martin, etc. (C).

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Did the Democrats Defeat Themselves?

Dear Sirs: In the past election I was the Democratic-Farmer-Labor candidate for Congress in the Seventh District here in Minnesota. My candidacy created some nation-wide interest because the autocrats of the D. F. L. Party, including Senator Humphrey, "disowned" me just before the election.

My main sin has been that I have not concurred in Mr. Forrestal's or Mr. Dulles's approach to foreign policy during the past few years. I opposed substituting the Marshall Plan for UNRRA. I opposed the Atlantic Pact because I believed it would lead to war and financial bankruptcy. Since 1950 I have insisted on making Korea an issue in Minnesota politics. I urged then that we accept India's offer to mediate because I felt sending American forces to Korea would smack too much of old European colonialism and because of the danger of World War III inherent in Korea. Now in 1952 I suggested the example of Finland, which lives on Russia's border as a neutral and disarmed country, as a pattern for a solution of the Korean question. In addition to the "Finland formula" for Korea, I urged that serious efforts be made toward ending the arms race that is leading this country and the rest of the world to war.

On domestic issues I have stood for preserving and extending the New Deal reforms begun under Roosevelt, and I have said that only with a reduction of arms spending via world disarmament would the dreams of Roosevelt ever reach fruition.

For advocating these things I was "dumped" by the local D. F. L. dictators in spite of the overwhelming support shown for me in the primary elections, where I soundly defeated the "machine" candidate.

This was my third try for Congress as an "anti-machine" candidate. In 1948 I came within 5,000 votes of actually being elected after defeating the machine candidate in the primaries. In 1948 I supported Henry Wallace for President as the logical candidate for the predominant Farmer-Labor Party within the D. F. L., when Humphrey was boosting Eisenhower as the candidate for the Democratic Party. In 1950 I lost a primary fight by only fifty-two votes and was denied a recount by the G. O. P.-dominated Minnesota Supreme Court.

The explanation from the local D. F. L. bosses for their action against me was that they feared Nixon would attack me and that they would have to defend me when Nixon campaigned in Minnesota. This was a frank admission that the Democratic machine lives in mortal fear of Nixon and McCarthy and their ilk. In effect, this was an admission that Democratic candidates and platforms must meet the approval of Nixon before being presented to the public. And worse yet, the leaders of the machine adopted the tactics of Nixon and McCarthy toward me when I refused to be their "captive candidate," when I campaigned for a fresh approach to foreign and domestic issues.

In a nutshell, my contention is that the Democrats defeated themselves by their cowardly kotowing to Nixon's smear tactics and to Dulles's views on foreign policy.

Readers may be interested to know that in spite of a heavy barrage of filthy smears from both the G. O. P. and D. F. L. machines I ran ahead of the rest of the D. F. L. ticket, and actually ahead of Stevenson in eight out of nineteen counties, trailing Stevenson by less than 500 votes in the entire district. Obviously, if all Democratic candidates had united with spirit around a platform similar to mine, the entire ticket would have run better, and possibly Stevenson would have been elected.

JAMES M. YOUNGDALE

Benson, Minn.

Korean Deadlock: Is the Issue Primacy?

Dear Sirs: The expensive deadlock in Korea on the prisoner-of-war issue makes one wonder more and more whether the prisoners are the real issue or just a surface manifestation of something deeper.

At stake is only the disposition of the *Chinese* prisoners; the Communists have indicated that they are willing to let the North Koreans go where they please. There are said to be about 20,000 Chinese prisoners who refuse repatriation. The impasse was reached in April, or about seven months ago. American casualties have been running between 800 and

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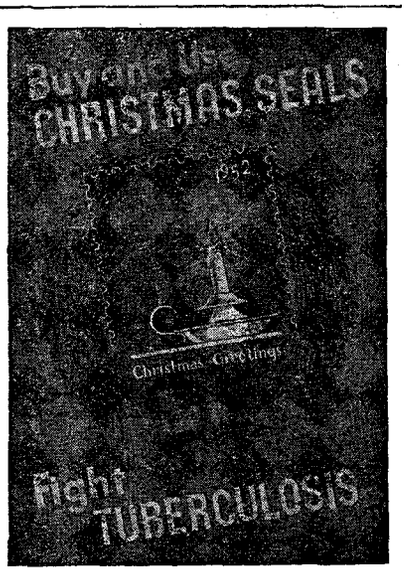

1,300 a week. If we take an average of 1,000 a week, there must have been 25,000 to 30,000 American casualties since the deadlock, or more than the number of Chinese prisoners whom we are trying to save. That is not much of a bargain, unless something else is involved. . . . If primacy in the Far East is the real issue, no one knows when the war will end. From this viewpoint, then, the prisoner-of-war issue was well chosen as the one on which to make a stand. It embraces elements, such as "humanity," "principle," and "honor," which in the public mind justify intransigence.

GEORGE OLSHAUSEN

Nice, France

At One College: A Daring Idea

Dear Sirs: My attention was called to an advertisement of a teachers' employment agency which read as follows:

Client college attractively situated desires add to its faculty in any department (preferably economics, government, philosophy, or biology) bona fide party-member Communist. Must prove connection by carrying card and if name is alias must be certified by party officer, if possible by one in jail. Occasional deviation from party line no bar to acceptance, though perfect conformity to all twistings and turnings is ideal qualification. Training at Marx-Lenin-Stalin Institute in Moscow considered equivalent of advanced degrees, especially if applicant can show record of always claiming constitutional immunity from self-incrimination. Usual academic prospects—begin instructor at $2,800, possible tenure after nine years at $6,000 maximum salary.

Naturally this item excited my curiosity, and from the agency I got the name of the institution. In response to my inquiry about his motives its president wrote, in part:

Our board, composed mainly of business men, was afraid that all eligible Communists, *i. e.*, with academic qualifications plus paid-up party membership, would be driven underground or locked up before we could attract one to our small college with its retired situation. Happily, the advertisement to which you refer produced two applicants, and we are taking the one with the best vouched-for aliases, who promises, in spite of his known character, to infiltrate all campus and community organizations he can reach.

Our object in adding this excellent subversive to our staff is readily explained. In a recent faculty survey of our educational offerings it was noted that—without our intending the omission—we had nobody competent to teach the tenets and practices now held to, in greater or lesser degree, by nearly half the human race. Knowing the difficulty in discovering a genuine Communist, we made further effort last semester to have the Soviet (and satellite) systems and culture taught by two members of our regular faculty, supplemented by a former Communist who had been forced to resign from a neighboring institution. Our committee on instruction abandoned this expedient when it was demonstrated, as we had suspected, that our men could not teach the subject with the necessary acquaintance and conviction.

The ex-Communist knew more, but his information was unfortunately out of date and soon he was hopelessly repeating himself. Besides, he was so often called away from the campus to testify against defendants indicted under the Smith and other acts that his course was injuriously interrupted. Moreover, we thought him too eager to glorify free enterprise and to avow his religious devotion. The students themselves complained that this made him worse than useless for our purpose.

From the new man, who has marked conspiratorial talents, we expect not only an ingenious defense of the Communist strategy, but, what is more important, moral fervor in that behalf. Through this means our students may learn of the intentions and resources of those peoples and countries which threaten to overthrow our Western, non-aggressive civilization. I much doubt whether our Communist colleague will make many converts, for his efforts will be countervailed by thirty-seven non-Communist faculty members, and the students are sufficiently mature, we believe, to distinguish folly from wisdom.

We contemplate some trouble, maybe a good deal, from elements in the college constituency, off campus, who are easily led into the current hysteria. But here I look to the influence of our board members to ward off and dissuade any prolonged outcry or hostile investigation.

We hope to be able to work out a student-exchange arrangement with a Soviet-dominated university, perhaps in one of the satellite countries. In the present state of tension, it is too much to expect that we could gain admission of selected scholarship majors to Leningrad, Moscow, or Kiev, or, I fear, persuade any of their promisingly dangerous youngsters to come for a sojourn on our campus.

If you can direct any gifts our way, they will be welcome. On inquiry I find that the chance of securing Moscow gold for educational subversion in this country is practically non-existent. This throws us back on sincere friends of democracy in America who consider that we shall not be able to meet the Communist menace except by understanding it.

New York BROADUS MITCHELL

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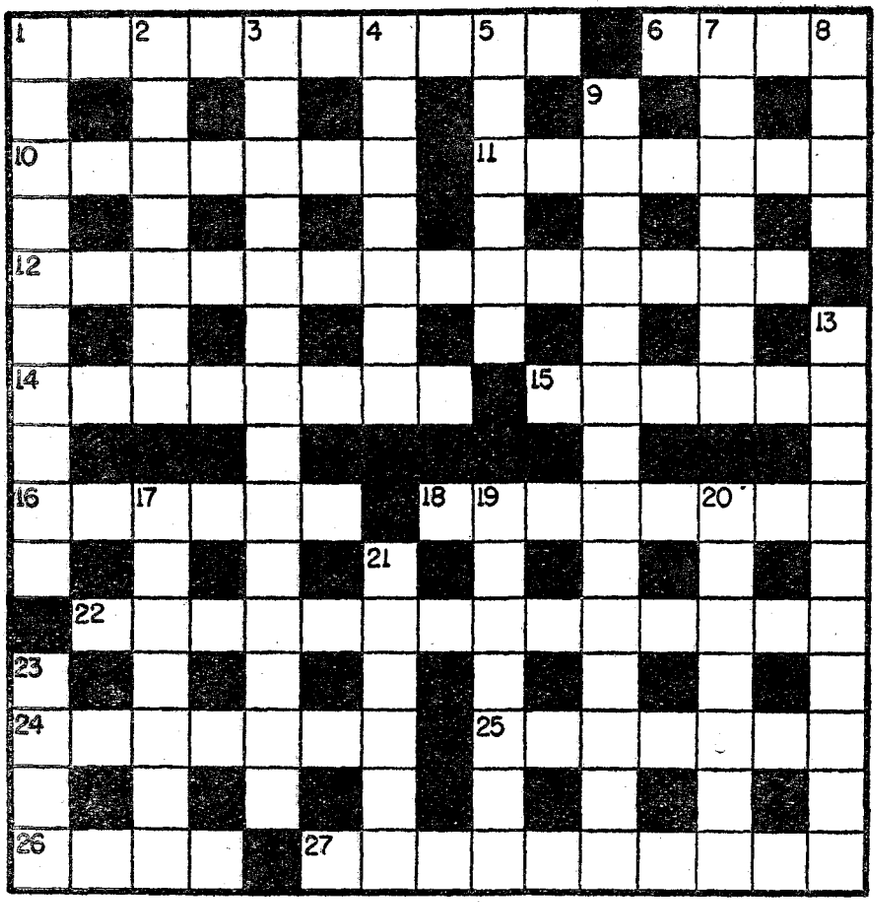
Crossword Puzzle No. 494

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 These are tricky layers with stones. (10)
6 Most of the rib is considered sacred by the Egyptians. (4)
10 Reichmarks — nothing personal, as far as the German's concerned! (7)
11 Agent in dye, if used with violet. (7)
12 Obviously a fixed cog isn't cut first. (9, 5)
14 Might you have done this incorrectly, as a good-time Charlie? (8)
15 Properly, it might be given evenly. (6)
16 Noyes' highwayman rode one of moonlight. (6)
18 Is this shape not bad for a carriage? (8)
22 Dragonflies might assist in preventing digital exposition. (7, 7)
24 Cartilage. (7)
25 You might have been wet in an intermediate position. (7)
26 The season of 23? (4)
27 The sort of description Lamb's "Tales" give? (4, 2, 4)

DOWN

1 This lad was well versed. (10)
2. Bruited about. (7)
3. You'd never recognize the place! (5, 9)
4 20 might be an example of these loquacious individuals. (7)
5 Smith's description? Possibly! (6)
7 The location of the lost rib. (7)
8 26 People are not likely to be found in this. (4)
9 Not easily found in the vine, innocently disguised. (14)
13 Almost as awkward a word as ceaselessness! (10)
17 A Chinese emperor's injunction to his son? (7)
19 You might solve this for X efficiently. (7)
20 A word of advice to those who would have things run smoothly. (3, 4)
21 Temper of a British queen and a little British prince. (6)
23 Time for a mixture of 26. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 493

ACROSS:—1 WREATHED; 5 ONEGIN; 9 DIAGRAM; 10 FINNISH; 11 ENTRAIN; 12 RATTAIL; 13 CROSS-PURPOSES; 15 CYCLONE CELLAR; 21 AVATARS; 22 UMPIRES; 23 INSULAR; 24 TROUBLE; 25 ASSESS; 26 ARRESTED.

DOWN:—1 WEDGES; 2 ELASTIC; 3 TORNADO; 4 EDMUND SPENSER; 6 NONSTOP; 7 GUITARS; 8 NIHILIST; 10 FORTUNE HUNTER; 14 SCIATICA; 16 CHASSIS; 17 ORACLES; 18 LAP ROBE; 19 RAREBIT; 20 OSTEND.

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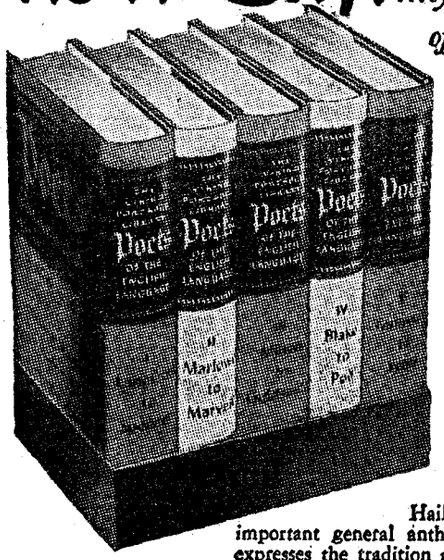

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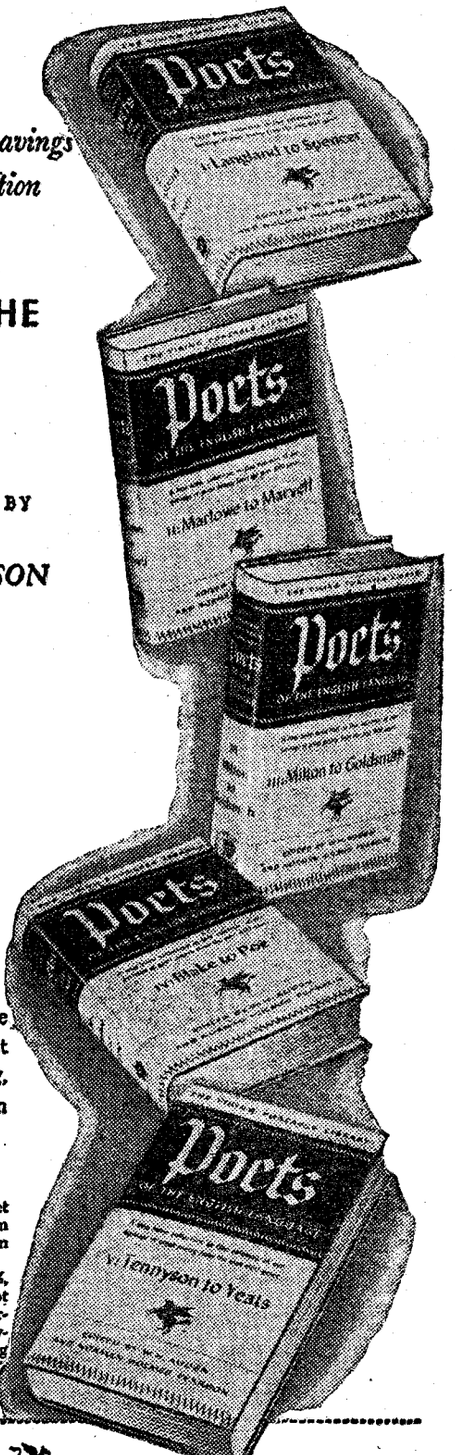

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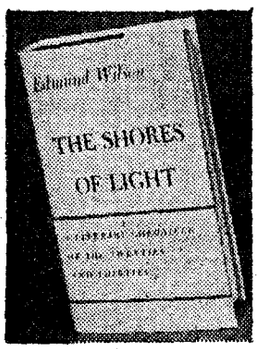

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